

THE
MAKING
OF OUR
COUNTRY

BURNHAM

Margaret Harper

- 1 Preamble
- 2 Skeleton
- 3 Bill of rights
- 4 Amendments
- 5 Schedule.

90

1492

1776

1789

LINCOLN RAISING THE FLAG—1861

On Washington's birthday, 1861, while on his way to his first inauguration, Lincoln raised the Stars and Stripes over the hall in Philadelphia in which the Declaration of Independence was adopted. In a speech that day Lincoln said that the Declaration gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world that in due time all men should have an equal chance.

1. Royal - king
2. Charter - Rules on a paper.
3. Proprietary -



LINCOLN RAISING THE FLAG—1861

© J. L. G. Ferris

THE MAKING OF OUR COUNTRY

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR SCHOOLS

BY

SMITH BURNHAM, A.M.

HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, WESTERN
STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN

ILLUSTRATED

WITH THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-
FOUR ENGRAVINGS IN BLACK AND WHITE,
FIFTY-ONE MAPS, AND EIGHT COLOR
PLATES FROM THE J. L. G. FERRIS
COLLECTION OF AMERICAN HISTORICAL
PAINTINGS, BY SPECIAL PERMISSION
OF THE ARTIST



THE JOHN C. WINSTON COMPANY
CHICAGO PHILADELPHIA DALLAS
SAN FRANCISCO TORONTO, CAN.

Copyright, 1920, by
THE JOHN C. WINSTON COMPANY

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

PREFACE

In "Our Beginnings in Europe and America," a European background book for the sixth grade in harmony with the report of the Committee of Eight upon the Study of History in the Elementary Schools and with the newer courses of study in our best public schools, the author briefly showed how the elements of our civilization grew from simple beginnings in the Old World and how in the fullness of time they were planted in America. In the present book for Grammar Schools and Junior High Schools, after a brief recapitulation of the story of discovery and early settlement in America, he continues to trace the development of civilization in our own country and to relate and explain the more important facts, movements, and problems in the origin and growth of the United States. It is believed that this book, like the earlier one, is in keeping with the suggestions of the Committee of Eight and that it meets the requirements of the more recent courses of study.

In attempting to write a new school history of the United States the author has been guided by certain convictions which are the outgrowth of an experience of many years in the class room. The first and most fundamental of these convictions is that textbook writer and teacher alike must constantly keep in mind the stage of mental development of the pupils when they select and prepare the material of instruction. It is believed, however, that almost any topic in our history can be understood by children of Junior High School age if it is described concretely in clear and simple language. Such language the author has tried to use in this book. In the choice of material many unimportant facts and names, often found in textbooks, have been omitted in order to make it possible to give more attention to the men and the events that have played a vital part in the making of our country. These men and events have been presented in logical groups rather than in chronological order, because the fundamental ideas of growth and progress can be more clearly brought home to the pupils by this method of treatment. In the belief that history deals with past life in all of its phases the industrial, social, political, and intellectual sides of that life have each received due atten-

tion. It has also been remembered that all sections of the land, the older East and the newest West, the wheat fields of the North and the cotton fields of the South, the populous cities and the sparsely settled plains, are parts of our country and that the story of the development of each of them is a part of our history. A special effort has been made to treat adequately the last fifty years of American life, the most important period in our history and yet the one most neglected in school work. The important part which the physical features of each section have played in determining the nature of its growth has not been overlooked. The winning of a vast, untamed continent for civilization, the most important and at the same time the most dramatic movement in our past, and the growth and meaning of democracy, the most momentous question affecting the present and the future of our country, are the main themes of this book.

The purpose of every textbook is to help the pupils who study it to learn and to love the subject which it treats. The success of any textbook depends in large measure upon the teachers and the pupils who use it. May the author of this book venture a few suggestions to the teachers who may teach it? First of all it is not a book to be memorized by the pupils. No textbook in history should be that. It is a book to be read, supplemented, thought about, and remembered. In teaching pupils to study any book the first step is to make sure that they read it in the sense of getting the author's thought from the printed page. The teacher can help at this point by anticipating and clearing up possible difficulties when assigning the lessons. The author has tried to help by a special effort to explain the more difficult topics in clear and simple language. The teacher ought to supplement any textbook in history by ample illustration and explanation drawn from her own reading and experience. The pupils ought to be given opportunities to supplement it by topical readings in other books. Teachers and pupils working together ought to do a great deal of thinking about the subject matter of the textbook. There is room here for much analysis, discrimination, comparison, judgment, and decision. When as a result of such study the class has decided that certain facts are important those facts ought to be remembered. Finally, every member of the class ought to be given

every possible opportunity to talk and to write about what he has studied. All these steps ought to be taken because the purpose of teaching history in school is not merely to instruct boys and girls about the past but to lead them to think, to feel, and to act in the present, and to help them to become better citizens and finer men and women in the future.

Every effort has been made in this book to provide teachers and pupils with the aids they need in order to study the history of our country according to the plan outlined in the last paragraph. References, lists of topical readings, classified illustrative literature, and questions and suggestions will be found at the end of each chapter. The References, which are primarily for the teacher, contain the names of a few of the best books upon the subject treated in that chapter. The Topical Readings are short, specific references to standard books that amplify or illustrate certain topics in the chapter in question. These readings vary greatly in length and in difficulty, a fact that the wise teacher will take into account in assigning them to individual pupils. It is not expected that every school will possess all the books named in these references and readings. Fortunate, indeed, is the school that has a quarter of them. But it is hoped that the Topical Readings will suggest to teachers the possibility of making and using similar lists from any material that may be available in their schools. The Illustrative Literature lists will introduce teachers and pupils alike to a host of poets, novelists, and biographers, many of whom are the best interpreters of the life and of the spirit of the time about which they write. The Questions and Suggestions are of such a nature as to stimulate thought or encourage a little historical investigation by the pupils.

The author is indebted to many friends for encouragement and for helpful suggestions during the preparation of this book. He desires to acknowledge with gratitude his special obligation to Dr. W. D. Lewis, Deputy Superintendent, Department of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and to Dr. J. L. Barnard of the Philadelphia Normal School for their thoughtful criticism of his work.

SMITH BURNHAM

Kalamazoo, Michigan,
August 1, 1920.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. EUROPEAN BEGINNINGS IN AMERICA.....	1
Our History.....	1
The European Background of Our History.....	2
The Discovery of America.....	7
The Winning of a Spanish Empire in America.....	9
Latin America.....	12
The Rivalry between Spain and England.....	15
II. THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.....	20
The First English Colony.....	20
The Beginnings of New England.....	24
The Dutch and the Swedes in America.....	30
A Group of Proprietary Colonies.....	32
William Penn and the Quakers.....	35
Why the English Came to America.....	37
III. THE GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA..	42
The Spreading of the Settlements.....	42
The Colonists and the Indians.....	45
The Growth of Industries.....	49
The Government of the Colonies.....	53
The Colonies and the Mother Country.....	57
IV. OUR COLONIAL ANCESTORS.....	62
The Europeans Who Became Colonists.....	62
What the Colonists Brought from Europe to America..	65
What the Colonists Found in the New World.....	69
The Homes of the Colonists.....	71
Social Life in Colonial Days.....	75
The Schools of Our Forefathers.....	78
Colonial Churches and Religious Life.....	83
V. THE RIVALRY OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN AMERICA..	87
The Beginnings of New France.....	87
The French in the Mississippi Valley.....	90
The English and French Colonies Contrasted.....	93
A Half Century of Conflict.....	95
The French and Indian War.....	99
The Treaty of Paris.....	104
VI. THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION.....	107
The True Character of the American Revolution.....	107
A New British Policy in America.....	109
The Stamp Act.....	111
The Second British Attempt to Tax the Colonists.....	113
How Keeping British Troops in America Caused Trouble	117

CHAPTER	PAGE
	The Quarrel Over the Tea Tax..... 119
	Parliament Punishes Boston and Massachusetts..... 121
	The Growth of Union in America..... 121
	Drifting toward War..... 124
VII.	THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION..... 128
	The Beginning of the War..... 128
	The Declaration of Independence..... 133
	The Loyalists or Tories..... 136
	The War in the Middle States..... 138
	Help from France..... 145
	The Beginnings of the American Navy..... 147
	The War in the South..... 149
	The Treaty of Peace..... 152
	The Men of the Revolution..... 153
VIII.	THE BEGINNINGS OF OUR GOVERNMENT..... 157
	A Federal Government..... 157
	From Colonies to States..... 157
	Our First National Government..... 158
	The Articles of Confederation..... 160
	The Critical Years of the Confederation..... 161
	The Constitutional Convention..... 164
	The States Ratify the Constitution..... 167
	The Constitution of the United States..... 169
IX.	WINNING A FOOTHOLD IN THE WEST..... 176
	England Gains Control of the West..... 176
	The First Pioneers beyond the Mountains..... 177
	Border Warfare in the Revolution..... 180
	How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest..... 182
	Rival Claims and Land Cessions..... 184
	The Public Land System..... 185
	The Ordinance of 1787..... 187
	The Growth of Western Settlement..... 188
	Life on the Frontier..... 190
X.	THE FEDERALIST PERIOD..... 196
	Starting the Government..... 196
	Putting the Finances of the Nation in Sound Condition..... 198
	The Beginning of Political Parties..... 201
	The French Revolution and War in Europe..... 204
	How Washington Kept Our Country Out of War..... 206
	The Two Federalist Presidents..... 208
	Our Troubles with France..... 211
	The Fall of the Federalists..... 213
XI.	THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE..... 217
	The Triumph of Democracy..... 217
	Thomas Jefferson, the Leader of Democracy..... 219
	Our Mississippi Trade..... 221
	The Colonial Scheme of Napoleon..... 223
	The Purchase of Louisiana..... 224

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER	PAGE
The Occupation and Exploration of Louisiana	225
The Plot of Aaron Burr.	228
The Meaning of the Louisiana Purchase.	230
 XII. THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.	 233
England and France Trample upon Our Rights on the Sea.	233
Our Government Fails to Maintain Our Rights by Peace- ful Means.	236
The "War Hawks" Have Their Way.	237
Our Efforts to Invade Canada.	240
The Navy in the War of 1812.	243
The British Attempts to Invade the United States.	246
The Results of the War of 1812.	248
The Settlement of Our Boundaries.	250
The Monroe Doctrine.	251
 XIII. LIFE IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC.	 255
Then and Now.	255
Our People about 1800.	257
Farming in the Early Days of the Republic.	261
Manufacturing and Trade.	262
Transportation and Travel.	264
The Intellectual Life.	266
The Spirit of the People.	269
 XIV. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.	 273
New Ways of Working and Living.	273
Spinning and Weaving.	273
The Steam Engine.	275
The Cotton Gin.	277
Iron and Coal.	278
The Steamboat.	279
The Protective Tariff.	281
Turnpikes and Canals.	283
The Railroads.	286
Great Changes in Farming.	289
The Meaning of the Industrial Revolution.	291
 XV. THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE WEST.	 296
A New Rush into the West.	296
The Western Settlers.	297
The Geography of Western Settlement.	298
The Journey to the Frontier.	301
The Life of the Pioneer.	304
New States.	308
The Rising Western Cities.	309
The Influence of the West.	312
 XVI. THE TIMES OF ANDREW JACKSON.	 316
The Beginning of New Political Parties.	316
Andrew Jackson.	318
The Spoils System.	321
The Tariff and Nullification.	323

CHAPTER	PAGE
	Jackson's Attack upon the Bank of the United States . . . 326
	The Panic of 1837 327
	The Rising Tide of Democracy 330
	A Period of Progress 331
XVII.	SLAVERY AND ANTISLAVERY 337
	The Early History of Slavery in Our Country . . . 337
	The Missouri Compromise 338
	Life in the Slaveholding States 340
	The Rise of the Antislavery Movement . . . 346
	Three Great Abolition Leaders 348
	The Slavery Question in Congress 350
	Slavery Becomes the Question of the Hour 351
XVIII.	THE WINNING OF TEXAS AND THE FAR WEST 355
	President Tyler Quarrels with the Whigs 355
	The Story of Texas 356
	The Settlement of the Oregon Country 360
	The Election of 1844 361
	Our War with Mexico 363
	The Results of the Mexican War 367
	The Rush to California 369
XIX.	DISUNION DELAYED BY COMPROMISE 374
	The Slavery Controversy 374
	The Union in Danger 375
	Clay Proposes a Compromise 377
	A Great Debate in the Senate 378
	The Compromise of 1850 Adopted 380
	The Fugitive Slave Law 381
	Years of Growth 383
XX.	SLAVERY DIVIDES THE UNION 390
	The Quarrel Over Slavery Renewed 390
	The Struggle for Kansas 391
	The Beginning of the Republican Party 394
	The Dred Scott Decision 395
	The Debate between Lincoln and Douglas 396
	John Brown's Raid at Harper's Ferry 400
	The Election of 1860 402
	The Coming of Disunion 403
XXI.	THE CIVIL WAR 407
	The North and the South at War 407
	The Work of the Navy 410
	"On to Richmond!" 412
	Opening the Mississippi 416
	The Story of Gettysburg 422
	From Chattanooga to the Sea 426
	Grant and Lee 430

CONTENTS

xiii

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXII. THE COUNTRY IN WAR TIME.....	435
Life in the Army.....	435
The Folks at Home.....	438
Paying for the War.....	440
The End of Slavery.....	443
Abraham Lincoln.....	446
XXIII. THE RECOVERY OF THE NATION.....	451
The Home-coming of the Soldiers.....	451
The Reconstruction of the State Governments in the South.....	452
The Quarrel between President Johnson and Congress.....	455
The Rise and Fall of the Carpetbaggers.....	457
The Growth of a New South.....	460
Politics After the Civil War.....	464
Our Relations with Foreign Countries.....	466
XXIV. NEW WAYS OF WORKING AND LIVING.....	471
The Age of Machinery.....	471
New Sources of Power.....	474
An Age of Railroads.....	476
Our Growing Wealth.....	480
Changes in Our Mode of Life.....	482
XXV. THE VANISHING FRONTIER.....	488
The Conquest of the Continent.....	488
The Growth of Mining in the Rocky Mountain Region.....	489
The Cattle Ranch and the Cowboy.....	493
The Farmers Occupy the Far West.....	496
The Last Indian Wars.....	501
Our Newest States.....	502
XXVI. BIG BUSINESS AND SOCIAL UNREST.....	506
Parties and Presidents.....	506
The Coming of Big Business.....	508
The Organization of Labor.....	510
The Tariff Question.....	512
The Railroad Problem.....	514
The First Attempts to Control Big Business.....	516
The Campaign for Free Silver.....	516
The Triumph of Big Business.....	520
XXVII. NEW SOCIAL IDEALS AND RECENT PROGRESS.....	524
Our Latest Presidents.....	524
New Ways in Politics and Government.....	526
New Laws for the Public Good.....	529
New Movements for Social Betterment.....	532
Progress in Education.....	536
Achievements in Literature, Art, and Science.....	538

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXVIII. AMERICANS IN THE MAKING.....	542
The "Melting Pot".....	542
Our Later Immigrants.....	544
The Negroes in Our Midst.....	547
Keeping Out the Undesirable.....	549
Americanizing the Newcomers.....	551
XXIX. THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD.....	555
Our American Neighbors.....	555
The War with Spain.....	557
Our New Possessions.....	560
Our Policy in the Far East.....	563
The Panama Canal.....	565
Our Relations with Mexico.....	569
XXX. OUR COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WAR.....	573
The War in Europe.....	573
Why We Entered the World War.....	576
How We Helped to Win the War.....	580
Fighting in France.....	583
War Work at Home.....	588
How Peace Was Made.....	591
The League of Nations.....	594
Facing the Future.....	596
APPENDIX.....	601
The Declaration of Independence.....	601
Washington's Farewell Address.....	604
Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech.....	606
The Monroe Doctrine.....	606
Constitution of the United States.....	607
Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the United States.....	617
Facts About the States.....	618
Population of Cities.....	619
INDEX.....	623

ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOR

LINCOLN RAISING THE FLAG—1861.....	<i>Frontispiece</i>
------------------------------------	---------------------

	PAGE
THE LANDING OF WILLIAM PENN—1682.....	36
THE FIRST THANKSGIVING AT PLYMOUTH—1621.....	72
THE LIBERTY BELL'S FIRST NOTE—1753.....	134
THE SHIP THAT SUNK IN VICTORY—1779.....	148
WASHINGTON'S SECOND INAUGURATION—1793.....	208
THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR—1865.....	431
SUNK BY A SUBMARINE—1918.....	578

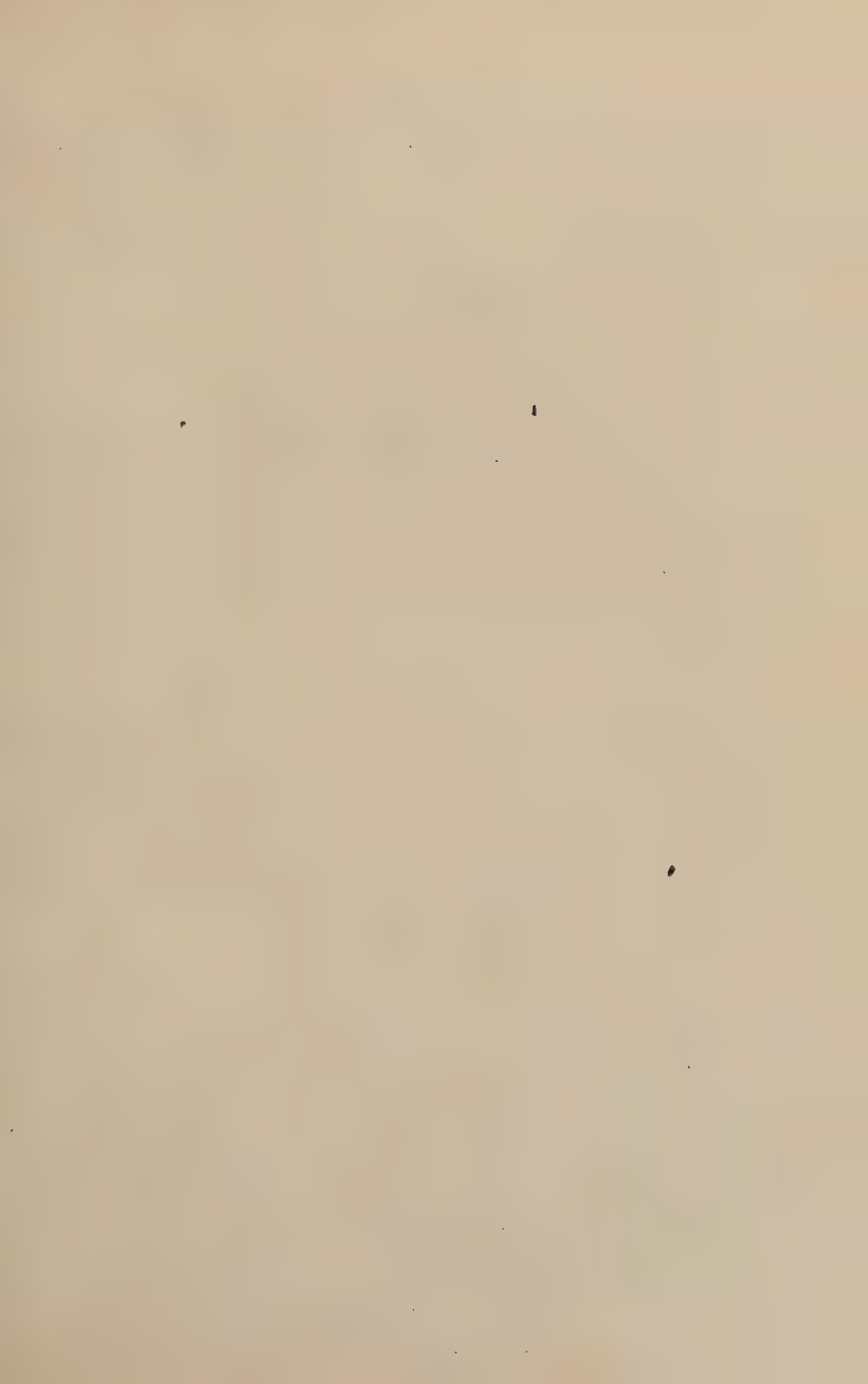
MAPS IN COLOR

TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF OUR COUNTRY.....	1
LATIN AMERICA.....	14
LAND CLAIMS OF THE STATES AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION....	184
THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA.....	228
THE UNITED STATES IN 1825.....	310
THE UNITED STATES IN 1850.....	382
THE UNITED STATES IN 1854.....	392
THE CONFEDERATE STATES.....	412
RAILROADS OF THE UNITED STATES.....	478
INDUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES.....	486
OUR NEWEST STATES.....	501
THE WESTERN FRONT.....	586

BLACK AND WHITE MAPS

TRADE ROUTES FROM EUROPE TO THE EAST.....	5
WHERE COLUMBUS THOUGHT HE WAS GOING.....	6
EARLY VOYAGES TO THE NEW WORLD.....	8
VIRGINIA AND HER NEIGHBORS.....	21
EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN NEW ENGLAND.....	27
EARLY SETTLEMENTS ON THE HUDSON AND THE DELAWARE.....	34
SETTLED AREA AT THE CLOSE OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD.....	43
OUTLINE MAP OF EASTERN NORTH AMERICA.....	88
FRENCH EXPLORATIONS AND POSTS IN THE VALLEYS OF THE ST. LAW- RENCE AND THE MISSISSIPPI.....	92
NORTH AMERICA BEFORE AND AFTER THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR...	104
THE VICINITY OF BOSTON.....	130
THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE STATES.....	143
THE CAMPAIGNS IN THE SOUTH.....	150
THE WEST AT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION.....	179
THE FRONTIER JUST AFTER THE REVOLUTION.....	184
THE EXPLORING EXPEDITIONS OF LEWIS AND CLARK AND PIKE....	228
THE CANADIAN BORDER IN THE WAR OF 1812.....	241
THE BRITISH CAMPAIGN AGAINST WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE....	247
JACKSON'S CAMPAIGN IN THE SOUTH.....	248

	PAGE
THE ERIE CANAL.....	285
RELIEF MAP OF THE EASTERN HALF OF THE UNITED STATES....	300
FREE AND SLAVE TERRITORY AFTER THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE..	340
THE OREGON COUNTRY.....	360
FRÉMONT'S EXPLORATIONS IN THE WEST.....	364
THE DISPUTED TERRITORY AND THE CAMPAIGNS OF TAYLOR AND SCOTT.....	366
THE TERRITORY ACQUIRED FROM MEXICO.....	368
THE EASTERN CAMPAIGNS OF THE CIVIL WAR.....	414
THE WESTERN CAMPAIGNS OF THE CIVIL WAR.....	418
THE BATTLEFIELD AT GETTYSBURG.....	423
SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA AND THROUGH THE CAROLINAS ...	429
THE ALASKA PURCHASE OF 1867.....	467
SHOWING IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES BEFORE AND AFTER 1885.....	544
THE LATIN-AMERICAN LANDS ABOUT THE CARIBBEAN SEA.....	554
THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.....	561
THE UNITED STATES AND ITS DEPENDENCIES AND THE PRINCIPAL TRADE ROUTES OF THE WORLD.....	567
THE FIVE GREAT GERMAN OFFENSIVES OF 1918.....	586
THE BATTLE OF ST. MIHIEL.....	587
THE BATTLE OF THE MEUSE-ARGONNE... ..	589





CHAPTER I

EUROPEAN BEGINNINGS IN AMERICA

Our History.—Three hundred years ago Englishmen planted the civilization of the Old World upon the eastern border



Four Periods of American Homes

The log cabin of the early settlers, below it the frame house of colonial days. In the upper right hand corner a Southern mansion of civil war days, and below it a modern home of the colonial type of architecture.

of the United States. Ever since that time hardy frontiers- **How we grew**
men have been pushing steadily westward across the continent. These pioneers first occupied the Atlantic seaboard, then made their way through the gaps of the Alleghanies and overran the broad valley of the Mississippi; and later followed the long trails across the plains and mountains until they reached the shores of the Pacific. Through all these years the American people—the sons of the early colonists constantly reënforced by newcomers from Europe—have been busily at work devel-

opening the rich resources of their country, clearing away its forests, cultivating its fields, opening its mines, and building its mills and railroads. At the same time they have been founding new homes, establishing schools, and developing the government under which we now live. The marvelous story of how all these things were done is the history of the United States.

Our country The United States is our country. It matters not whether we live in the crowded cities of the East or upon the vast plains of Kansas or Oklahoma, among the cotton fields of the South or upon the wheat lands of the Dakotas, in Chicago by Lake Michigan or in San Francisco by the western sea, everywhere it is our country. It is our country, too, no matter who we are. We may trace our descent from the earliest colonists or we may be the children of immigrants who arrived only yesterday, but if we all love and serve the America in which we live, we all may proudly say, "This is our country." We are going to study this book in order to learn how this country of ours grew from the simplest beginnings to be the great democratic nation it is to-day.

**Our debt
to the Old
World**



Greek Soldiers

It was such soldiers as these who saved freedom by defeating the Persians.

**The Roman
Empire**

The European Background of Our History.—We cannot fully understand and appreciate our own history without knowing something of what our people have inherited from the Old World. The ancient Hebrews gave us our religion and many of our moral standards; the Greeks taught us to love the beautiful in art and literature; the Romans originated many of our ideas about law and government. All these peoples lived a long time before the discovery of America.

In the earliest centuries of the Christian era all the country bordering on the Mediterranean Sea was governed from Rome, and so this region was called the Roman Empire. Nearly all the civilized people in the world lived in this empire. By civilized people we mean people who have written laws and a government that enforces obedience to these laws; who cultivate the soil; who carry on commerce; who have good houses and roads and ships,

who have schools and books and pictures and music—in a word, we mean people who live much as we do now.

Beyond the frontier of the Roman Empire the people were barbarians; that is, they had not yet learned to work steadily, they wandered about in tribes with very little government, they loved war and plunder, and they had no comfortable houses, no schools, and no written language. The barbarians who lived north of the Roman Empire, beyond the Rhine and the Danube, were of the Teutonic race.



A Roman Galley

It was in such ships as this that the Romans reached all the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

Though fierce and warlike, the Teutons possessed many virtues which the older Romans had lost. They were valiant and liberty loving, and many of our social ideas, with some of our forms of government, originated with them. The Teutonic tribes were attracted by the wealth of the Romans and attempted to win it for themselves. For a time the Romans kept them out, but at last they could do so no longer, and the Teutons overran the southern and western parts of Europe. Here they settled, and, mingling with the surviving Romans, became the ancestors of the European peoples of to-day. This fall of the Roman Empire happened in the fifth century of the Christian era.

The Teutonic tribes lived in their new homes in their simple, barbarian manner, and much of the civilization of the ancient world disappeared. The period during which this state of affairs lasted is sometimes called the Dark Age because the people were so ignorant. But not all the civilized Romans had disappeared. Some of them were left, and little by little they taught their Teutonic conquerors to put away their old

Our
Teutonic
ancestors

The Dark
Age

habits and thoughts, and to adopt the civilized ways of living of the Romans. During this time the Teutonic peoples became Christian.

The new
peoples

In the course of time these new peoples so far outgrew their old barbarian manners and customs and learned so much about the civilized ways of the Romans, that they came to love these ways and to have an intense desire to imitate them and even to improve them. This new longing led them to do many important things. During the long period we have been talking about they had been slowly forming new nations—the France,



Crusaders on the March

Spain, Italy, and England of to-day. Now they began to make their governments very much stronger, to establish schools, to write books, to paint pictures, to make inventions like gunpowder and printing, to trade with other countries, and to look about them for new things and strange adventures. These desires to increase their commerce and to see the world led directly to the discovery of America.

The
Crusades
and their
results

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries great military expeditions called crusades were undertaken by the people of western Europe for the purpose of rescuing the Holy Land from the hands of the Mohammedans. The crusades brought the warlike men of western Europe in contact with the more highly civilized Greeks and Arabs of the East. The crusaders saw many new things which they wanted, and gradually a rich commerce grew up between Europe and Asia. Ships

laden with the woods and metals of Europe sailed from Venice, Genoa, and other Italian cities, to Alexandria, Antioch, and the Black Sea region, where their cargoes were exchanged for the cottons, silks, and spices of the Far East. Adventurous European travelers, of whom the most noteworthy was Marco Polo, visited eastern Asia, or Cathay, as they called it, and brought back fabulous stories of its wealth and even hearsay knowledge of rich islands lying in the ocean beyond Cathay.



Trade Routes from Europe to the East

Some time before the discovery of America this rich eastern trade suffered a great reverse. The Turks, a wandering race of barbarians who were moving westward, overran Asia Minor and, in 1453, captured Constantinople, which thus became the capital of their empire. This cut off the trade of the Black Sea region, and as the Turks extended their conquests toward the south, the other European trade routes to the East were in grave danger. All this was a fearful blow to the people of southern Europe who had grown rich by trading with Asia. Their geographers and sailors began to plan how they could find a new and safer way of going to Cathay or the Indies.

The Portuguese began the search. A member of their royal family, who was called Prince Henry the Navigator

The Turks block the trade routes to the East

How the Portuguese found a new way to India

because of the deep interest that he took in this work, sent out expedition after expedition to explore southward along the western coast of Africa. He hoped to find the southern end of that continent, and thence to sail across the Indian Ocean to



A Venetian Galley

In such vessels the rich trade with the East was carried on after the Crusades.

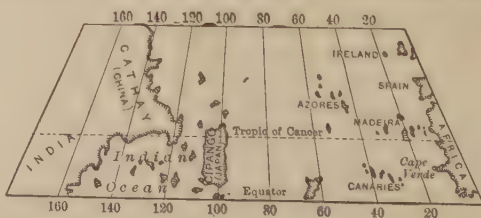
the Indies. At last, though not in Prince Henry's time, the Portuguese succeeded. Year after year they slowly traced the western coast of the Dark Continent of Africa to its southern extremity; and in 1497 Vasco da Gama, one of their sailors, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and made his way to the city of Calicut in Hindustan. The Portuguese quickly followed up the advantage they had thus gained, established trading posts in the Far East, and in a few years, built up a rich commerce with that part of the world.

Meantime, Christopher Columbus, an Italian sailor who had married and settled down in Portugal, became possessed with the idea that

the earth is round, and that, by steering boldly westward across the Atlantic, he could reach the Indies. This idea did

not originate with Columbus, by any means. For at least two thousand years a few of the wisest men had believed and taught it, but it had never been commonly accepted. It

is the glory of Columbus that he was the first man who had



Where Columbus thought he was going

The idea of Columbus

the courage and fortitude to put it to the test. He was encouraged to do so by his belief that the earth is smaller than it really is. This belief led him to estimate that the eastern coast of Asia lay about three thousand miles west of Spain. After vainly attempting to get the Portuguese authorities to assist him, Columbus asked Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, to fit out ships to try to find a westward way to the Indies and, after a long and most exasperating delay, they gave him the aid he sought.



From the painting by Vanderlyn, Capitol, Washington
The Landing of Columbus

The discoverer is taking possession of the new land in the names of the King and Queen of Spain.

The Discovery of America.—Early one summer morning in 1492 Columbus started out to prove that Asia could be reached by sailing westward. With ninety men in three small ships he steered steadily into the West over an unknown sea. As weeks passed with no sign of land, the ignorant and superstitious sailors became almost panic-stricken with terror, but nothing could turn their iron-hearted leader from his purpose. At last, on October 12th, land was seen, and Columbus took

How
Columbus
found
strange
lands beyond
the Atlantic

possession of it for Spain. Crowds of natives gazed in astonishment upon the strange white men from beyond the sea, and as Columbus felt sure that he had reached an island near India he called these native inhabitants Indians. In reality he was thousands of miles from India and had landed upon a small island in the Bahamas. After cruising for ten days among the Bahama Islands, Columbus reached Cuba, which at first he believed to be Japan. A little later he discovered the island of Haiti and was charmed by the beauty of its scenery. He then



Early Voyages to the New World

returned to Spain, where Ferdinand and Isabella gave him a royal welcome and listened with intense interest to the story of his adventures. Columbus made three other voyages to the new lands which he had found. On his third voyage he reached the coast of South America, which he seems to have thought was a continent lying far to the southeast of Asia. On his fourth and last expedition he sailed along the coast of Central America, which he felt sure was the long sought mainland of Asia. In this belief he died, in 1506.

While Columbus was making his later voyages, other Spanish and Portuguese explorers were tracing the eastern coast line of South America. Slowly the idea that this strange land was a new continent lying to the southeast of Asia grew

Other
explorers
reveal a
New World

to a certainty in their minds. One of the explorers of the shores of this new continent, an Italian named Americus Vesputius, wrote an account of his voyages, and the reading of this account led a geographer of the time to suggest that the new part of the world ought to be called America. At first this name was applied only to South America, but in the course of time it came to be given to the whole of the New World. The discovery of a great sea beyond the isthmus of Panama by Balboa helped to strengthen the growing belief that what we call South America was a new continent. This belief was made a certainty by the wonderful voyage of Ferdinand Magellan. Starting from Spain in 1519, Magellan passed through the strait which now bears his name and sailed westward for months over the vast expanse of water which he named the Pacific Ocean. At last he reached the Philippine Islands and learned that he was near the Indies which Columbus had sought. Magellan was killed by the natives of the Philippines, but one of his ships finally reached Spain by way of the Cape of Good Hope, thus completing the first circumnavigation of the globe. The marvelous voyage of Magellan proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the land found by Columbus was a New World, separated from Asia by the greatest ocean on the globe.

Vesputius

Balboa

Magellan

The Winning of a Spanish Empire in America.—Spanish settlement in America began with the second voyage of Columbus, when he planted a colony in Haiti. The first Spanish colonists brought with them horses, cattle, and other domestic animals, the seeds of vegetables, grains, and fruits, and sugarcane which was destined to be more important than any of these in the history of the West Indies. While the earliest Spanish settlements were on the island of Haiti, within twenty years after 1492, the Spaniards had taken possession of Porto Rico and Jamaica and had begun the colonization of Cuba.

The first
Spanish
settlements

Many of the early Spanish pioneers were led to the New World by their thirst for gold, which was believed to be very abundant in the Far East. Some gold was found in the islands of the West Indies, but not enough to satisfy the ardent desires of these Spanish soldiers of fortune. Soon the more daring among them began to push on to the mainland in their quest for wealth. Those who first reached the coast of Mexico were amazed to find natives who wore cotton garments, lived in

The
conquest of
Mexico

huge houses built of sun-dried brick, and built great temples of stone. The Spaniards were also much excited by the stories they heard about a great city, rich in gold, in the interior of Mexico. In 1519 Hernando Cortes, a bold yet crafty soldier, led an expedition into this tempting land. He found that Mexico was rich in gold and silver, and that its people possessed tools and weapons of copper, cultivated great fields of corn, and lived in large cities in which were great tower temples where human beings were sacrificed to please the gods whom the Mexicans worshiped. After a long and bloody war, Cortes



From the painting by Lizcano
Pizarro Leading the Spaniards to the Conquest of Peru

conquered the entire country and made the City of Mexico the capital of a vast Spanish province.

The Spanish treasure seekers early heard of a rich country, far to the south, called Peru, and about a dozen years after the conquest of Mexico they found it. The Peruvians were in advance of the Mexicans in civilization. They raised great crops of corn and cotton; kept large flocks of llamas and alpacas; built massive stone buildings; and connected their cities by magnificent roads. They were rich in gold, silver, and copper, and were skilful workers in all these metals. Francisco Pizarro led the Spaniards in the conquest of Peru. Through treachery he and his men soon got possession of that

country and won an enormous treasure in gold. Other Spanish explorers quickly added all of South America except Brazil to the Spanish Empire. Soon after the discovery of America, Spain and Portugal had agreed that Spain should have the new lands found west of a meridian three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands and that Portugal should have those lying east of that line. As Brazil is situated east of this line of demarcation, it became a colony of Portugal.



From the painting by Powell

De Soto's Discovery of the Mississippi

After Cortes and Pizarro had won fame and fortune in Mexico and Peru it was natural that other adventurous Spaniards, burning with the lust for gold, should explore the interior of North America in the hope of finding lands and peoples as rich as those already conquered for Spain. De Soto and Coronado are the best known of many bold spirits who found disappointment in this northern quest. De Soto landed in Florida in 1539 with over six hundred picked men. For three years they wandered through the swamps and forests of our southern states, fighting Indians but never finding the gold they sought.

Spanish
explorers in
North
America ✓

De Soto ✓

At last De Soto died and was buried in the Mississippi River which he had found. After terrible suffering the survivors of his party reached Mexico. At the very time that De Soto was wandering over the Gulf states, Coronado started from Mexico with eleven hundred men to conquer seven rich cities which were believed to be somewhere toward the north. This expedition wandered on probably as far as the present state of Kansas. Coronado never found the rich cities which he sought, but he learned much about the great plains. The expeditions of De Soto and Coronado are important because they gave the Spaniards a claim by right of discovery to all the regions which they visited.

By the second half of the sixteenth century the Spaniards had won an empire in the New World which included the islands and countries bordering the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, and which extended thousands of miles to the southward in South America. This Spanish territory was vast in extent and unsurpassed in natural resources. For many years the large income which Spain derived from the mines of Mexico and Peru made her the richest and most powerful nation in Europe. This mighty Spanish Empire in the New World was built up before any other European nation had planted a single settlement in North America.

Latin America.—The Spaniards first brought European civilization to the New World, and in the course of time they spread it over the greater part of the western hemisphere south of the United States. We call the Spaniards one of the Latin races, because their language and some of their ways of living were derived from the ancient Romans. Because the Spanish language and Spanish manners and customs prevail in the West Indies, Mexico, Central America, and a large part of South America, we call this vast region Latin America, and speak of its people as the Latin Americans.

This does not mean that the people in the Latin-American countries which were once Spanish colonies are all of Spanish origin. Some of them are the offspring of the Spanish pioneers, others of the negro slaves who were brought from Africa; but by far the greater part of the population of Latin America are the descendants of the Indians whom the Spaniards found in America or are of mixed Spanish, Indian, and negro blood

Coronado

results.

A Spanish
empire in
America

Origin of the
name

Races

Instead of driving away the Indians, as the English settlers did in our own country, the Spanish pioneers brought the natives under their government, compelled them to put away many of their barbarous practices like the offering of human sacrifices to their heathen gods, and required them to work at least a part of the time upon the land of their Spanish masters.

Treatment
of the
Indians

The Spaniards established missions, in which the Indians were taught the Christian religion and instructed in many of the industries and arts of civilized life. They also brought to the New World the various domestic animals and the grains, vegetables, and fruits of Europe. In spite of the harsh and cruel treatment which they often suffered, the Indians of Latin America learned many useful lessons from their Spanish conquerors.

We have seen that the lure of gold first attracted the Spaniards to Mexico and Peru and led them to explore many other parts of the New World. Sooner or later, however, most of the gold hunters settled down to making a living by

farming and grazing, which, with mining, became the chief industries of the Spanish colonies. As years passed and more settlers came, hundreds of Spanish towns were established in America. Every year great galleons, like the one pictured on this page, carried the sugar, hides, and drugs of the colonies to Spain, where they were exchanged for the wine and oil, the figs, raisins, and olives, and the cloth and iron of the mother country.

The Spanish colonists in America were without political freedom or religious liberty. They were not permitted to govern themselves and did not enjoy the right to worship as they

Government



A Spanish Galleon Sailing from
America to Spain

Life of the
people

pleased. Their political affairs were in the hands of governors and other officers sent out from Spain, and every one was required to accept the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church which was established by law. But as the government in Spain would not permit any one to come to America unless he was a true Spaniard and a good Catholic, religious differences were not so acute as among the English settlers.

In spite of this lack of freedom in politics and religion many of the best features of European life were brought to



An Old Spanish Mission, Santa Barbara, California

Influence Latin America by the Spaniards, who were not lacking in energy in their efforts to civilize the people of their new empire. The missions among the Indians were the outposts of this civilizing work. At a very early date higher schools and colleges were established and great universities grew up in Lima and in the City of Mexico. The first printing press in America was brought by the Spaniards in 1536. By the patient and persistent use of all these means the Spaniards succeeded in permanently stamping their language and their religion upon all the countries of Latin America

X



thus circumnavigating the globe. About the same time Martin Frobisher and John Davis and, a little later, Henry Hudson, boldly steered their ships among the icebergs of the far North in a vain search for a passage through the northern part of North America into the Pacific Ocean. The straits and bays which bear the names of these daring sailors tell us where they sought for a northwest passage to Asia.

Frobisher,
Davis, and
Hudson



From the painting by J. E. Millais

The Boyhood of Raleigh

As he listens to the sailor's tale of the land beyond the sea, Raleigh resolves to win it for England when he is a man.

Meanwhile other Englishmen were planning the beginnings of settlement upon the coast of America. Sir Humphrey Gilbert made an unsuccessful attempt to colonize in Newfoundland and was lost at sea while on his way back to England. Gilbert's unfinished work was continued by his half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the most famous Englishmen of Queen Elizabeth's time. Raleigh sent two companies of settlers

Unsuccessful
attempts at
settlement

to the coast of Virginia, but neither succeeded in planting a permanent colony. However, Raleigh's failures brought about the introduction of two important native products of the New World into the British islands: tobacco, which from this time the English began to use, and the potato, which Raleigh planted upon his lands in Ireland.

The attempts of the English to settle in lands which Spain claimed as her own, and the piratical attacks of Drake and his associates upon Spanish ships and Spanish cities in the New World stirred up the wrath of Spain. Then, too, the second half of the sixteenth century was an age of religious strife in Europe. Spain was the defender of the Catholic faith, while, more and more, England and Holland came to be recognized as the champions of the Protestant cause. As time passed, colonial rivalry and religious hatred combined to make England and Spain the bitterest of enemies.

Enmity
between
England and
Spain

At last the Spanish king, Philip II, resolved to stop, once for all, the aggression of the English. In the summer of 1588 he sent a great fleet of one hundred and thirty ships to begin the conquest of England. This "Invincible Armada," as it was called, was to sweep the English navy from the sea and then to transport a great Spanish army from the Netherlands to the shores of England. In this moment of utter peril, English liberty was saved by the bold seamen who had been trained for years under Hawkins, Drake, and Frobisher. As the Armada passed up the English channel the English captains attacked it and for six days there was a great running fight. On the last day of this famous battle Drake and his men drove the Armada before them through the Strait of Dover into the North Sea. Then a great storm arose and completed the destruction which the English had begun. Only a remnant of the Spanish fleet succeeded in returning to Spain.



The Spanish Armada

Queen Elizabeth Knighting Drake upon the Deck of His Flagship

Results of
its defeat

The defeat of the "Invincible Armada" saved England and decided the destiny of America. Spain and England were rivals for the possession of North America. Before England could hope to succeed in planting colonies on the western shore of the Atlantic she must be able to defend them against the attacks of Spain. When the gallant sailors of Queen Elizabeth broke the power of Spain upon the sea, and established that of England in its place, they made possible an English-speaking America. For this reason the defeat of the Spanish Armada is one of the most important events in the history of the United States.

REFERENCES.

Cheyney, *European Background of American History*; Fiske, *The Discovery of America*; Bourne, *Spain in America*; Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. I; Lummis, *Spanish Pioneers*; Froude, *English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Europe Which Found America. Burnham, *Our Beginnings in Europe and America*, 188-207.
2. The Early Life of Columbus. Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, I, 342-364.
3. Where Did Columbus Get His Geographical Ideas? Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, I, 354-381.
4. Prince Henry the Navigator. Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, I, 316-326.
5. The Story of Magellan. Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, II, 184-210.
6. The First American Traveler. Lummis, *Spanish Pioneers*, 101-116.
7. The Pioneer Missionaries. Lummis, *Spanish Pioneers*, 149-157.
8. The Man Who Would Not Give Up. Lummis, *Spanish Pioneers*, 215-224.
9. Early Spanish Adventures in the United States. Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, 9-19.
10. The Sea Kings of England. Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, I, 15-40.
11. The Story of the Spanish Armada. Froude, *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century*, 176-228.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Joaquin Miller, *Columbus*; Lowell, *Columbus*; Sidney Lanier, *The Triumph*; Wallace Rice, *The First American Sailors*; Alfred Noyes, *Drake*; Macaulay, *The Armada*; Tennyson, *The Revenge*.

Stories: Knox, *The Travels of Marco Polo*; King, *De Soto and His Men in the Land of Florida*; Barnes, *Drake and His Yeomen*; McMurry, *Pioneers on Land and Sea*; Cooper, *Mercedes of Castile*; Simms, *The Damsel of Darien*; Vasconcelos; Wallace, *The Fair God*; Kingsley, *Westward Ho!*

Biographies: Adams, *Christopher Columbus*; Stapley, *Columbus*; Markham, *Columbus*; Guillemard, *Life of Ferdinand Magellan*; Corbett, *Sir Francis Drake*; Edwards, *Sir Walter Raleigh*; Ober, *Heroes of American History*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. For what are we indebted to Europeans who lived before the discovery of America?
2. What traits of character in Columbus do you most admire? Why? Would it have made any difference in the history of the New World if it had been named for Columbus?
3. Was the voyage of Magellan or the first voyage of Columbus the greater achievement? Why?
4. Were any of our domestic animals found in America before its discovery by Europeans? What common grains, vegetables, and fruits were unknown in America until they were brought here from Europe?
5. In what ways was the Spanish Conquest an injury to the Indians of Mexico and Peru? In what ways did they gain by it?
6. What do we import from the West Indies? From Mexico? From South America? What do we sell to these countries?
7. How did the defeat of the Spanish Armada influence the history of America?

CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

The
founding of
Virginia

The First English Colony.—At the dawn of the ~~seventeenth~~ century, English sea power was firmly established by the defeat of the Spaniards, and England was ready to begin colonizing in America. In 1606, James I gave permission to a group of London merchants to plant a colony in Virginia, and early in



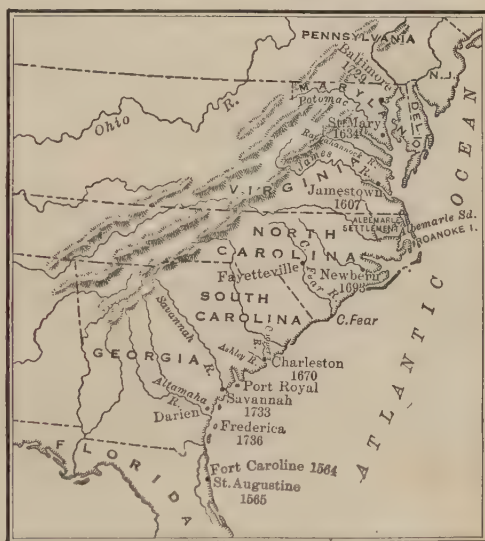
The Settlement of Jamestown

1607, the first permanent English settlement in our country was made about fifty miles up the James River by one hundred men sent over by this London Company. King James promised that the settlers of Virginia should lose none of their rights as Englishmen. These pioneers named their town Jamestown in honor of the king. The site of Jamestown proved unhealthful, and before winter came, one-half of the settlers were in their graves. The lives of the other half were only saved by the courage and good sense of Captain John Smith, who came to the front as a born leader always will in an emergency. For the next two years Captain Smith was the life of the little company at Jamestown. The early settlers in

Virginia were poorly fitted for the work they had undertaken. Many of them were what the English call "gentlemen;" that is, they had never worked and did not know how to do so. Captain Smith kept these men at their necessary tasks by enforcing the rule that "he that will not work shall not eat." He also traded with the Indians and spent much time in exploring the country.

In 1609, John Smith returned to England. The sufferings at Jamestown during the following winter were probably the most dreadful ever endured by any group of settlers in America. **Sufferings of the settlers**

Left without a competent leader the settlers quarreled among themselves and wantonly provoked the hostility of the Indians. As winter came on, exposure, famine, and disease began their deadly work. In six months, five hundred settlers were reduced to sixty "most miserable and poor wretches." Only the timely arrival of Lord Delaware with supplies saved the life of the colony.



Virginia and Her Neighbors

This awful winter proved a turning point in the history of early Virginia. One by one the mistakes of the earliest years at Jamestown were corrected, and slowly the settlers learned in the hard school of experience how to live in a new country.

At first the settlers in Virginia owned all things in common, but in 1611 Governor Dale put an end to this system by giving each man land for his own. It was soon found that the settlers worked very much better when each man owned the fruits of his own labor. Nearly all the earliest comers to Virginia were **Early mistakes corrected**

men, and their settlements were little more than military camps. Presently the London Company began to remedy this condition by sending over young women who became the wives of the planters and soon these new families established homes upon the banks of the James like those they had known in the mother country.

But the thing that did most to promote the growth and prosperity of Virginia was the cultivation of tobacco. Just at

Tobacco



Forcing a Man to Emigrate

**Unfree
labor**

work upon the plantations. To supply the demand convicts and kidnaped persons were sent from England, and their service sold to the planters for life or for a term of years. Such persons were called indentured servants. In 1619, a Dutch trader sold the Virginians twenty negroes. This was the beginning of African slavery in the colony, but for many years the white servants greatly outnumbered the negro slaves.

**The growth
of the
government**

The early governors of Virginia who were appointed by the London Company were often harsh and tyrannical in their rule. Presently the control of the company in London passed

this time the use of tobacco was rapidly increasing in Europe, and, consequently, this product of the Virginia plantations found a ready market at a good price. As it was found that the soil of Virginia is especially adapted to the culture of the tobacco plant, more settlers came from England and new plantations were opened along the wide, deep rivers which are the natural highways leading into the interior of the country.

The rapid growth of tobacco planting in early Virginia created a great demand for laborers to

into the hands of men who believed in the right of the people to govern themselves. Accordingly, they instructed the governor of Virginia to call together representatives of the different settlements to make laws for the colony. This body, which met in 1619, was called the House of Burgesses, and was the first legislative or lawmaking body in America. In 1624, the London Company had its charter taken from it, and Virginia became a royal colony; that is, henceforth the king appointed



The Provincial Capitol of Virginia, Williamsburg
The laws of the colony were made here for more than a century.

the governor. The people, however, retained the right to elect their men to the House of Burgesses.

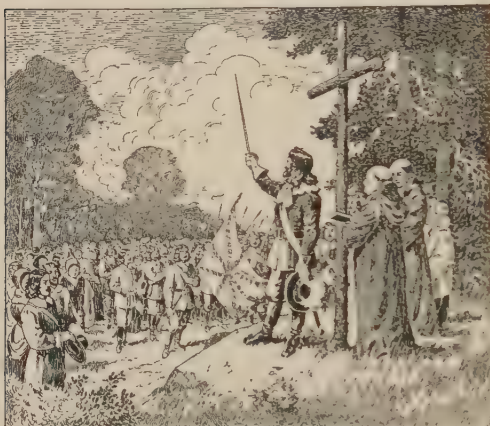
Virginia and her near neighbor, Maryland, were very much alike in their physical geography. Both bordered upon Chesapeake Bay, and in both there were many lazily flowing rivers upon whose banks the earliest settlements were made. The first settlement in Maryland was made at St. Mary's, in 1634, by Lord Baltimore, whose purpose was to found a home for his fellow Catholics where they could escape the persecutions from which they suffered in England at that time. Although Lord Baltimore was the proprietor or owner of Maryland, he

The
beginnings
of Maryland

gave the settlers a large share in their own government and granted them land upon very easy terms. Protestants and

Catholics alike were welcomed from the start, and in 1649 a famous law was passed, giving religious toleration to all Christians. Life upon the farms and plantations of early Maryland was very similar to that in Virginia.

The Beginnings of New England.—In order to understand the beginnings of New England we must know



The Planting of Lord Baltimore's Colony at St. Mary's, Maryland, in 1634

The Church of England

who the Puritans were and what they wanted. When Elizabeth was Queen of England the greater part of her people belonged to the Church of England, or the Episcopal Church, as we call it in America. This church was established by law, which means that the people were forced to support it and expected to worship in it.

The Puritans

But many of the English people were dissatisfied with the form of government and the mode of worship of the established church. These people were called Puritans because they wanted to purify the church from the forms and ceremonies, like making the sign of the cross or reading prayers out of a book, which were distasteful to them. The Puritans were also opposed to the brutal games and sports of their time, and to the love of display, the frivolity, and the Sabbath breaking which they saw all around them. They not only wanted greater simplicity in worship, but plainer living, stricter Sabbath keeping, and purer morals.

The Pilgrim Fathers

A few of the Puritans were so displeased with the church that they left it altogether and set up little independent sects of their own. Those who did this were called Separatists

because they thus separated from the Church of England. A little company of Separatists, who had left England in search of a place where they could have freedom to worship God, founded the colony of Plymouth upon the coast of New England in 1620. The members of this little band of Separatists who settled at Plymouth are called the Pilgrim Fathers because of their wanderings in search of "a faith's pure shrine." But the great body of the Puritans did not want to separate from the church. They desired to remain in it but to change its form of worship and its government in such a way that it should become a Puritan church.

The Pilgrim Fathers crossed the Atlantic in a little ship named the *Mayflower*. Before landing the men of the party gathered in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and drew up and signed the following compact or agreement for the government of the colony they were about to establish.

"In the name of God, Amen; We, whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland King, defender of the faith, etc., haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith and honor of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe, by these presents, solemnly and mutally, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by vertue hereof, to enacte, constitute, and frame, such just and equall laws, ordenances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

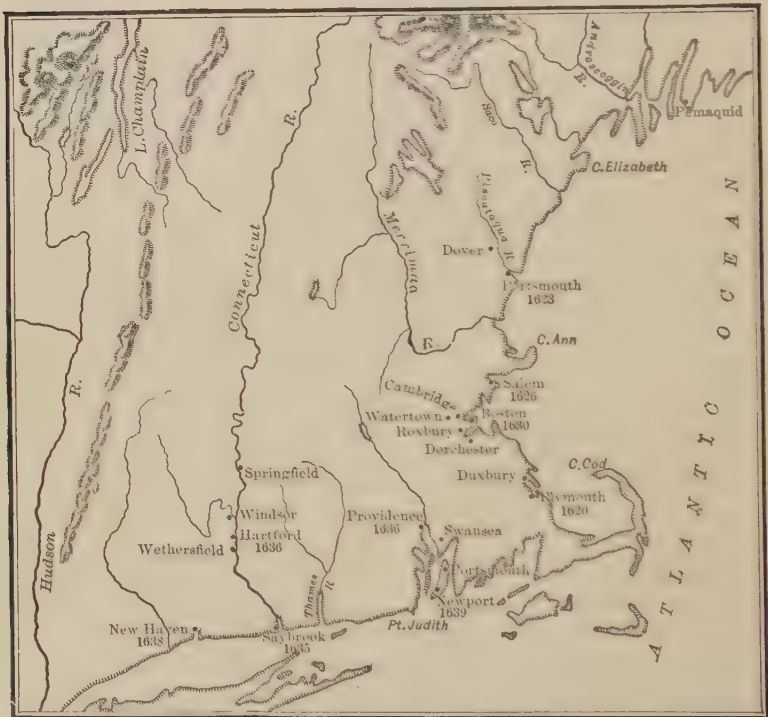
The
Mayflower
Compact

We believe that all men ought to be free to worship God as they choose. We call this religious toleration. But in the sixteenth century very few people in all the world believed in religious toleration. It was then thought very important that all the people should believe the same things and worship in the same manner. Queen Elizabeth and King James I punished the Puritans in order to force them to conform to the established mode of worship, and King Charles I, who succeeded

How
religious
persecution
drove many
Puritans to
America

James I in 1625, persecuted the Puritans more severely than his father had done. While Charles I was king, a great number of English Puritans fled from religious persecution in England to the wilderness of New England.

This English exodus to New England began in 1628 when a group of Puritan leaders obtained a grant of land and sent



Early Settlements in New England

The
founding of
Massachusetts

John Endicott with sixty settlers to take possession of it. The next year the men who held this grant of land organized themselves into a trading company, and the king gave them a charter which named their corporation the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, and authorized it to establish and govern a colony in New England. Nearly four hundred settlers were at once sent out and, in 1630, John Winthrop, one

of the noblest men in our early history, led a thousand Puritans to Massachusetts Bay. Winthrop settled at Boston, which at once became the chief town of the colony. During the next ten years the tyranny and persecution of Charles I drove more than twenty thousand Puritans to America. Many new towns were founded, farms were cleared, trade sprang up, and soon a vigorous English life had taken root in the soil of Massachusetts.

Although the Puritans came to Massachusetts to escape the religious persecution in England, they did not practise religious toleration in their new home. They wanted to establish a Puritan state and to exclude all others from it. One of their leading ministers said, "He that is willing to tolerate any religion besides his own either doubts his own or is not sincere in it." When Roger Williams, a minister at Salem, taught that all men "should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their own consciences," and maintained that the only rightful way in which the settlers could get the land was by purchase from the Indians, the Puritans of Massachusetts determined to send him back to England. But Roger Williams fled from the men sent to arrest him, and after a winter of great suffering in the wilderness established a little settlement which he named Providence. This was the beginning of the colony of Rhode Island.

Soon other settlers, some from England and some from Massachusetts, came to Rhode Island where there was freedom of religious belief. Among them was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a very prominent woman of Boston who was



Puritans Going to Church

Roger Williams seeks freedom in Rhode Island

Other
settlers
leave
Massa-
chusetts

banished from Massachusetts because the Puritan leaders did not like her religious opinions. With her family and friends, Mrs. Hutchinson began a settlement at Newport which was later joined to the one at Providence. Other friends of Mrs. Hutchinson who left Massachusetts founded several towns in New Hampshire, where Portsmouth and Dover had already been begun by the followers of Gorges and Mason, two Englishmen who had received a grant of land between the Merrimac and the Kennebec rivers.



Welcomed at Providence by Roger Williams

The origin of
Connecticut

Connecticut, the last of the New England group of colonies, was also begun by people from Massachusetts. Some of the early Connecticut settlers left Massachusetts because they disliked the government of that colony, while others were attracted by the fertility of the valley of the Connecticut River. In 1636, Thomas Hooker, the pastor of one of the

Massachusetts churches, led his whole congregation through the wilderness to the banks of the Connecticut, where they founded the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. In the meantime, a little settlement named Saybrook had been begun at the mouth of the Connecticut River by John Winthrop, a son of the Massachusetts governor. Two years later a company of Puritans from London settled at New Haven. In the course of time all these little settlements were united to form the colony of Connecticut.



Henry Hudson Exploring the Hudson River
This explorer saw many Indians while ascending the river.

The life of the people was very much the same in all the early Puritan colonies in New England. Everywhere the settlers lived on small farms and each family raised most of its own food supply. The earliest settlers boasted of their great crops of corn. One of them in writing to his friends in the mother country said, "Our turnips, parsnips, and carrots are here both bigger and sweeter than is ordinarily to be found in England. Here are stores of pumpkins, cucumbers, and other things of that nature which I know not." The same writer

Life in early
New
England

complained of the mosquitoes and of the bitter cold of the winters.

~~X~~ **The Dutch and the Swedes in America.**—In 1609, two years after the founding of Jamestown, Henry Hudson, an English sailor in the service of the Dutch, while searching for a northwest passage to India, found the mouth of the great river which now bears his name. In his little ship, the *Half Moon*, he explored the Hudson River as far as the present site of Albany and reported "that the land was of finest kind for tillage, and as beautiful as the foot of man ever trod upon."

The
discovery of
the Hudson
River



New Amsterdam in 1656

The Dutch claimed all the region which Hudson visited and named it New Netherland.

Within five years of the day the *Half Moon* entered the Hudson River, the Dutch had a permanent trading station on Manhattan Island where New York City now stands, and another at Fort Nassau near the present Albany. For some years these places were trading posts rather than real settlements. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was given the exclusive right to colonize New Netherland. Two years later this company sent the first party of permanent settlers to the banks of the Hudson. Some of them stopped on Manhattan Island while others went up the river to Fort Nassau.

The Dutch colony of New Netherland grew very slowly.

New
Netherland
founded

It had a rich fur trade, but very few farmers came from Holland to settle in it. Unlike its neighbors, the New England colonies, **Its slow growth** New Netherland did not have self-government. The people were ruled by a governor and other officers sent out by the Dutch West India Company. The most famous of the Dutch governors of New Netherland was the last one, Peter Stuyvesant. On his arrival at New Amsterdam, as the town on Manhattan Island was called, he said to the people, "I shall govern you as a father his children." He was as good as his word and ruled with an iron hand, but the colony grew and prospered under his sway. Governor Stuyvesant's most serious troubles were with intruders from other countries who were trying to get a foothold on the soil of New Netherland.

The Dutch claimed that New Netherland included the valleys of the Delaware and the Connecticut, as well as that of the Hudson and established trading posts on both these rivers. In 1638 the Swedes made a settlement upon the banks of the Delaware and named their colony New Sweden. The Dutch protested against this in-

vasion of territory which they claimed, but as they wanted the friendship of the Swedes in Europe at this time, they did nothing more. By 1655 affairs had so changed in Europe that the Dutch thought it time to act. Governor Stuyvesant marched against New Sweden with a large force and the Swedish settlers surrendered to him. They were not molested but became subject to the government of New Netherland.



New Sweden
conquered
by the Dutch

Tearing up the Call to Surrender

Stuyvesant wanted to fight the English but the people would not support him and he was compelled to surrender.

New
Netherland
taken by the
English

On the Connecticut the Dutch were less fortunate. They built a trading post on that river, but the English came so thick and fast that they were forced to abandon it. Soon English colonists began to encroach upon the Dutch settlements on Long Island and west of New Haven. The English had always claimed that New Netherland belonged to them, and at last King Charles II made up his mind to seize it. In 1664, Colonel Nicolls, with four ships and five hundred veteran English troops, appeared before New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant, the brave old Dutch governor, wanted to fight to the last ditch, but the people, who were weary of his arbitrary ways and thought that they would have more liberty under an English government, would not support him. He was obliged to yield, and New Netherland passed peacefully into the hands of the English.

Revolution
in England
checks
settlement
in America

A Group of Proprietary Colonies.—All the colonies whose beginnings we have thus far traced were founded before 1640. By that year the tyranny and persecution of Charles I had grown so bad that the English people would no longer endure them. The efforts of Parliament to bring about reforms led to a civil war in which the king was defeated. In 1649, Charles I was put to death by the victorious Puritans, and England was proclaimed a republic, although it was really ruled by Oliver Cromwell, the great Puritan general at the head of the army. When Cromwell died, there was no one strong enough to succeed him and, after two years of confusion, the English people decided to restore the monarchy. Accordingly, Charles II, the son of Charles I, became king in 1660. During the period of revolution in England, between 1640 and 1660, no new English colonies were begun in America, although some of the Cavaliers, as the friends of Charles I were called, came to live in Virginia.

The second
period of
English
colonization

Charles II was a selfish and pleasure-loving king, and quickly gathered about him friends like himself. For twenty-five years, from 1660 to 1685, he lived in the midst of a gay, frivolous, and wicked court. This reign was the second period of English colonization in America. The king rewarded the friends who had helped him recover the throne, and paid some of the men to whom he owed money by giving them great tracts of land in America. Every English colony planted in America during this second period of settlement was proprietary, which

means that the men to whom these colonies were granted owned the land in them and possessed certain rights of government over the actual settlers.

Carolina was the first colony established in this period. In 1663, Charles II gave the land lying between Virginia and Florida to eight of his friends who asked him for it in the hope of increasing their wealth and importance. Some years before this the first real settlement in the Carolina region had been begun by some Virginians who had moved southward into the wilderness along the Chowan River near Albemarle Sound. The new proprietors sent a governor and more settlers from England to this Albemarle settlement and in time the colony of North Carolina grew up about it. The first settlement in South Carolina was made in the neighborhood of Charleston in 1670.

**Carolina
founded**

At first the proprietors of Carolina did not intend to have two colonies, but the Albemarle and Charleston settlements were so far apart that it was more convenient to give each of them a separate government, and quite naturally the names North and South Carolina came into common use. In 1729 the proprietors sold their rights to the king. The two Carolinas were then completely separated and each of them became a royal province.

**Carolina
divided**

There was a striking contrast between North Carolina and South Carolina. The former has a sandy or swampy coast with few good harbors, and most of its early settlers lived on small farms in the interior of the colony. In South Carolina, on the other hand, the colonists lived near the coast, and Charleston soon grew to be an important seaport. The growing of rice on large plantations worked by gangs of negro slaves came to be the leading industry in South Carolina. For a part of each year the rich rice planters lived in the fine mansions which they built in the city of Charleston.

**North and
South
Carolina
contrasted**

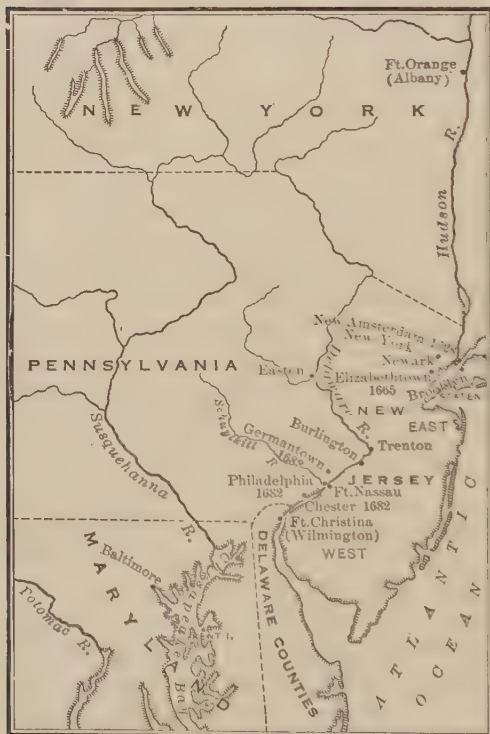
More than sixty years after the beginning of South Carolina another colony was founded still farther to the south. The first settlement in Georgia was made at Savannah in 1732 by James Oglethorpe, an English soldier who wanted to set up a military outpost near the Spanish frontier of Florida and at the same time to give a new chance in life to those poor people in England who were put in prison in those days because they

Georgia

could not pay their debts. Georgia grew very slowly and was the youngest and weakest of the colonies at the end of the colonial period.

We have seen how brave old Peter Stuyvesant was obliged to surrender New Netherland to the English. In 1664, Charles II gave this Dutch province to his brother James, Duke of

New York



Early Settlements on the Hudson and the Delaware

York and, in honor of the new proprietor, the name of the colony and of its principal town was changed to New York. In 1685 the Duke of York became king of England as James II, and New York then became a royal province. The English conquest of New Netherland brought few changes in that colony. Perhaps the most important of these changes was the giving of more power to the people to manage their own local affairs. For many years there were more Dutchmen than English-

men in New York. Slowly more settlers came, English, Scotch, French Huguenots, and Germans.

The same year that the Duke of York received the gift of New Netherland, he sold the part of it which we call New Jersey to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. After changing hands several times, New Jersey became a royal colony in 1702. There were a few Dutch living in New Jersey before

New Jersey

1664. After that date, settlers came to this colony from England, from New England, and especially from Scotland, where a horrible persecution of the Presbyterians just at this time drove many members of that sect to America.

William Penn and the Quakers.—Pennsylvania, the last of the group of proprietary colonies begun in the days of Charles II, was founded by William Penn, and his fellow Quakers were its early settlers. The Quakers, or Friends, as they called themselves, were members of a religious sect which arose in England in the seventeenth century. The Quakers were plain in dress and speech. They looked upon all war as wrong, taught the equality of all men, and believed that God speaks directly to the soul of every man who listens with an attentive mind. They felt that there was no need of religious ceremonies, priests, or ministers. There are still many Quakers in Philadelphia and in neighboring parts of Pennsylvania.



A Quaker Trial

"The Quakers were persecuted in England in those days and often punished for preaching their faith." William Penn

William Penn, the greatest man in the early colonial history of America, was the son of an admiral in the British navy.

Early in life he became a Quaker and went about the country preaching his faith among the people. As the Quakers were persecuted in England in those days, more than once Penn found himself in prison. But this persecution only made him cling more resolutely to what he believed to be right.

As years passed, Penn grew to be a wise and farseeing man, the foremost leader of his sect in England. For a long Pennsylvania

time he had been thinking of making a settlement beyond the Atlantic in which his persecuted Quaker brethren could live in peace. At last the opportunity to carry out such a plan arose. The king owed his father, Admiral Penn, sixteen thousand pounds, and after the admiral's death, William Penn offered to take a tract of land in America in place of the money. Charles II readily accepted this offer and gave Penn a vast region extending five degrees west of the Delaware River.



William Penn in Quaker Garb

The king named the new colony Pennsylvania in honor of Admiral Penn.

William Penn advertised his colony widely, sold land to the settlers on very easy terms, and promised them perfect liberty to believe and worship as they pleased. Every man was to be permitted to vote, and Penn at once drew up a "Frame of Government" which gave the people the right to govern themselves. In a letter to the people already living in Pennsylvania the new proprietor said, "You shall be gov-

erned by laws of your own making, and live a free and, if you will, a sober, industrious people."

These attractive conditions soon brought many settlers to Pennsylvania. In 1682, the year in which Penn arrived in his colony, nearly three thousand people joined him, and the following year fifty ships came with settlers. Penn spent two years in Pennsylvania, making friends with the Indians, planning the chief city of the colony, which he named Philadelphia, the city of "brotherly love," and organizing the government. In 1684 his business interests in England required his return to that country, where he spent the remainder of his life, with the exception of a second visit to Pennsylvania in

Penn's wise
policy

He visits
Pennsyl-
vania



THE LANDING OF WILLIAM PENN—1682

THE LANDING OF WILLIAM PENN—1682

The founder of Pennsylvania came to America in the autumn of 1682. After stopping at Chester, he ascended the Delaware River in an open boat and landed by the side of a new house known in early Philadelphia history as the Blue Anchor Tavern. In the picture the inhabitants are flocking to the shore to greet the proprietor of the colony. In the welcoming throng are several Indians whose hearts Penn had already won by his easy confidence and familiar speech.

Why the English came
to America?
Why internal migration?

1696. In his absence he was represented in his colony by governors whom he appointed.

The early Quaker settlers of Pennsylvania were thrifty people who came well supplied with tools and provisions, and consequently escaped the extreme hardship and suffering which were so prevalent in the early history of Virginia and New England. The English Quakers continued to come to Pennsylvania in considerable numbers until about 1700. After that time most of the immigrants to Penn's colony were Germans, who fled from tyranny and religious persecution in their native land, and Scotch-Irish from the north of Ireland.

Growth of
the colony



William Penn's Home in Philadelphia During His Second Visit

Why the English Came to America.—We have now briefly traced the origins of all those settlements in the New World which in the course of time grew into thirteen strong colonies. We shall next study more definitely why these settlements were made at all. Why did the kings of England encourage every attempt to plant a colony in America? What made the rich men of the English nation invest their money so freely in colonial enterprises? What motives led so many Englishmen to brave the perils of the sea and the hardships of life in the wilderness in their efforts to establish new homes beyond the stormy Atlantic?

Motives of
the colonists

Desire for
wealth and
power

The long struggle between England and Spain in the sixteenth century did much to turn the attention of the English nation to America. Spain had built up a rich empire in America. Englishmen were fascinated by the tales of the gold and the jewels which the Spaniards had found in the New World. They wanted to share in this wealth, and at the same time they were eager to break the power of Spain and extend the dominions of their own nation. Some of the early English explorers came to trade with Spanish America or to plunder Spanish ships and Spanish cities. Others sought in vain for a passage through North America to the Pacific Ocean that

they might share in the rich traffic with the Far East. All these expeditions attracted attention to America, and opened the way for English settlement on its shores.

England, then as now, was dependent upon foreign countries for many articles of common use. The traders



A Trading Post on Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay

of Portugal brought the spices and silks of the Orient; the countries of southern Europe furnished wines and dried fruits; from the lands bordering upon the Baltic Sea there came fur and hides, and timber, pitch, and tar for ships. The English government encouraged the planting of colonies in America in the hope that in time they would supply their mother country with these needed commodities and at the same time offer a good market for the goods, like linen and woolen cloth, which the English people made to sell.

At the time of the first settlements in America, Englishmen thought that their country had too many people in it. One writer said, "The poor starve in the streets for want of labor." Another wrote of "our poor sort of people, which are very many amongst us, and living altogether unprofitable, and oftentimes

To promote
trade

To find
homes for
English poor

to the great disquiet of the better sort." The English kings encouraged colonization, for one reason, because they thought that it would relieve the poverty of their people by removing swarms of idle persons to America.

Some of the rich men who invested their money in colonial enterprises were moved by the desire to convert the Indians to the Christian faith. Others, like Lord Baltimore, William Penn, and James Oglethorpe, wanted to make life easier for the persecuted and poverty-stricken in England. But the

Mixed
motives



Converting the Indians to the Christian Faith

From an old print

chief motive with nearly all of them was the hope of making a large profit upon the money they invested.

Many of the Puritan settlers in New England and some of the Catholics of Maryland, the Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Cavaliers who came to Virginia after the death of Charles I, fled from religious persecution or political oppression in England. But the chief motive which brought the bulk of the early English colonists to America was the hope of making a better living than they had ever enjoyed in the mother country. Even the dangers and the uncertainties of life in the

Desire for
freedom and
for a better
living

New World with its possibilities of great success made a strong appeal to many daring and adventure-loving men who were tired of their humdrum life in England.

Some were
sent

Not a few of the early colonists came because they were sent. The city of London, for example, paid the expense of sending its pauper children to Virginia. Sometimes vagabonds and criminals were sent to America or offered a pardon on the condition that they would voluntarily go to the colonies. Sometimes wealthy people in England subscribed money to provide poor emigrants with tools, clothing, provisions, and passage to one of the colonies. Sometimes poor men agreed with a ship captain to serve for a term of years in payment for a passage to America. The captains sold the services of these men to colonial farmers and planters, to whom they were bound, or "indentured," to serve out their promised time. In all these ways many a poor Englishman gained a new start in life in a new land.

REFERENCES.

Thwaites, *The Colonies*; Eggleston, *The Beginners of a Nation*; Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*; *The Beginnings of New England*; *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*; Tyler, *England in America*; Channing, *History of the United States*, Vols. I-II.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Early Life of Captain John Smith. Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, I, 80-91.
2. How Captain John Smith Bought Corn of the Indians. Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, I, 132-141.
3. Toleration in Maryland. Browne, *Maryland*, 67-71.
4. The Pilgrims in Their English Home. Eggleston, *The Beginners of a Nation*, 149-157.
5. The Causes of the Great Puritan Exodus. Eggleston, *The Beginners of a Nation*, 191-199.
6. The Story of Anne Hutchinson. Eggleston, *The Beginners of a Nation*, 329-341.
7. Life in New Netherland. Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, I, 13-21.
8. The Swedes and the Dutch on the Delaware. Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, I, 237-242.

9. The Early Life of William Penn. Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, 114-118.

10. The Beginnings of Georgia. Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, II, 333-376.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Drayton, *To the Virginian Voyage*; Stevenson, *Henry Hudson's Quest*; Hemans, *Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers*; Longfellow, *The Courtship of Miles Standish*; Pierpont, *The Pilgrim Fathers*; Whittier, *John Underhill*; Cassandra Southwick; *The King's Missive*.

Stories: Cooke, *Stories of the Old Dominion*; *My Lady Pocahontas*; Drake, *The Making of New England*; Irving, *Knickerbocker's History of New York*; Hawthorne, *Grandfather's Chair*; Dix, *Soldier Rigdale*; Austin, *Standish of Standish*; Betty Alden; Goodwin, *The Head of a Hundred*; *Sir Christopher*; Kennedy, *Rob of the Bowl*; Johnston, *To Have and to Hold*.

Biographies: Warner, *Captain John Smith*; Johnson, *Captain John Smith*; Twichell, *John Winthrop*; Straus, *Roger Williams*; Tuckerman, *Peter Stuyvesant*; Holland, *William Penn*; Bruce, *James Edward Oglethorpe*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. If you were about to settle in a new land what kind of location would you choose for your house? Why?

2. What kind of house could the early settlers build out of the materials at hand? What tools did they need to bring with them from England?

3. What differences in climate did the early colonists find when they came from England to America? Why was there so much sickness among the earliest colonists?

4. What is religious toleration? Are people more or less tolerant now than they were in early colonial times? Why?

5. Ask the teacher to explain what a charter is.

6. Locate on an outline map all the places named in this chapter.

7. Make a list of all the reasons which led Englishmen to colonize in America.

CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA

Review

The Spreading of the Settlements.—All the English colonies in America except Georgia were begun in the seventeenth century. Virginia and Maryland, all the Puritan colonies in New England, and the Dutch and Swedish settlements upon the Hudson and Delaware rivers were planted before 1640. We have seen that the Carolinas, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were established during the reign of Charles II between 1660 and 1685. When the colonial period of our history ended in the Revolution, Georgia was a little less than fifty years of age, and Pennsylvania had not quite reached the century mark. All the other colonies were more than one hundred years old, and many of them were nearly one hundred and fifty. The most important fact in this century or more of colonial history was the steady growth of the small settlements of early colonial time into vigorous states that declared their independence of Great Britain in 1776.

How the settlements grew

This growth of the colonies took place in the most simple and natural way. New settlers from the Old World, and boys who grew to manhood in the early settlements, pushed farther into the country, settled upon wild land, and began to build homes of their own. Sometimes hunters or exploring parties brought back glowing reports of the beauty or the fertility of some valley far in the interior, and the more ambitious and daring among the pioneers went in little companies to possess it. Soon the long silence of the forest was broken by the ringing sound of their axes, a clearing was made, log cabins were built, and in this way a new settlement was established.

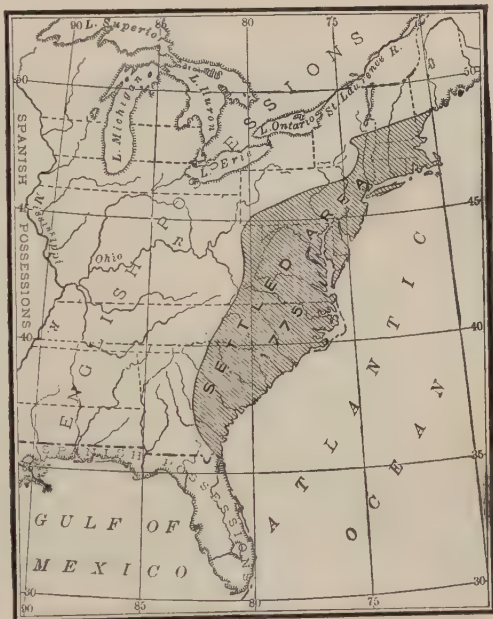
Hardships of the settlers

This steady spreading of the settlements into the interior of the country was attended by toil, hardships, and no little danger. It took years of hard work to cut down and burn the heavy timber with which the land was covered, to clear the new farms of stumps and stones, to build houses and barns, and to open roads through the forests to connect the new

settlements with the older ones. Our colonial fathers and mothers were men and women of industrious habits, of great strength and endurance, and of steadfast courage. Only such people could survive in the long hard struggle with the wilderness.

Some of the early settlements, like Boston, New York, and Charleston, were made along the coast; others, like Jamestown and Philadelphia, were established upon the banks of navigable rivers. They all grew in the same way, spreading into the interior along the rivers and their tributaries because these waterways were easy roads to travel. Towns grew up near the mouths of the rivers. The furs, lumber, and farm produce of the colonies were brought down the rivers to be exchanged for the wares which the merchants of the towns had imported from England. In the course of time wagon roads were opened from the sea ports into the interior. In Virginia the ships of England came up the rivers to the plantations to trade, and consequently few towns developed in that colony.

This map shows the settled area of the colonies at the close of the colonial period of our history. Nearly all the land in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut was in the hands of actual settlers. Elsewhere in New England the settlements were confined to the coast, except where the



Settled Area at the Close of the Colonial Period

The influence of the rivers

Extent of colonial settlement

pioneers had advanced up the valleys of the Connecticut, Merrimac, and Kennebec rivers in New Hampshire and Maine. Long Island and the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk were the only parts of New York yet occupied by white men. From New Jersey to Virginia the settlers had pushed into the interior as far as the Blue Ridge Mountains, and were already in possession of some of the rich limestone mountain valleys like those of the Potomac and the Shenandoah and the fine Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania. In the Carolinas and



Loading Tobacco Ships in the James River

Georgia nearly all the colonists lived within one hundred miles of the coast although some hardy frontiersmen had made their way up the rivers far beyond this point.

The
influence
of the
Appalachian
mountain
system

Except in the far south, nearly all the good land between the sea and the Appalachian mountain system was occupied by settlers by the close of the colonial period. The mountain system which extends from New England to Georgia exerted a very great influence upon our early history. If it had not been there the colonists would have scattered widely in a search for the best lands. But the difficulty of passing this mountain barrier held them for a hundred years between the

mountains and the sea. Here they grew strong, learned to be neighborly, developed their institutions, and kept in close touch through their commerce with the mother country beyond the Atlantic. Thus when the colonial period drew to an end the descendants of the early settlers in America had firmly established themselves upon the Atlantic seaboard, and were ready to begin the conquest of the great Mississippi Valley beyond the mountains.

~~X~~ **The Colonists and the Indians.**—During the century or more while the colonists were winning and settling the land from the Atlantic Coast to the Alleghany Mountains they were beset by many perils. By far the most serious of these dangers was the hostility of the Indians, as the native inhabitants of America have been called ever since the time of Columbus. The Indians are often called the Red Men though they really were brown in color with a slight tinge of copper in some cases. They were a

The Indians

tall, finely formed race of men, with high cheek bones, small eyes, and long, coarse, black hair. They were clad in the skins of wild animals, although in summer the men wore very little clothing and the children none at all. They lived in rude huts called wigwams. Some of these Indian houses were built by setting saplings in the ground, bending them together at the top, and covering the rounded frame thus formed with brush, bark, weeds, and leaves. Other Indians built "long houses" by setting upright posts in the ground, laying a roof of poles, and then covering the whole structure with bark shingles. Some of these Indian "long houses" were a hundred feet long, fifteen or twenty feet wide, and large enough to accomodate several families.



Indian Wigwam

Tribes and
races

The number of Indians in the United States when the white men began to settle in the country was not large. They lived in small tribes scattered here and there in the wilderness. Tribes of Indians who spoke languages which were very much alike are sometimes grouped together to form what are called linguistic families. There was a large number of these families in America, but the English colonists came in contact with only three important groups, the Algonquins, the Iroquois, and the Muskogean, or Southern family.

Algonquins



An Indian Warrior

Iroquois

The Algonquins were the most numerous. They occupied the country from the Carolinas northward to Hudson Bay, and from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi River. The Narragansetts, the Pequots, the Lenape, and the Shawnees were some of the Algonquin tribes whom the settlers knew best. The Iroquois lived in New York in the midst of the vast Algonquin territory. The most savage, crafty, and daring of all the Indians, the Iroquois, were the terror of their neighbors. Their five great tribes, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, were

Southern
Indians

called "The Five Nations" by the white people. After the Tuscaroras from North Carolina joined their Iroquois kinsmen in New York in 1714 these tribes were called "The Six Nations." The Muskogean, or Southern Indians, lived in the country between South Carolina and the Mississippi River. The Creeks and Cherokees were the most important members of this group.

Indian life

The most important need of the Indians, as of all other people, was a supply of food. They lived upon game, fish, and the wild berries, fruits, and edible roots which they found. Some of the tribes also cultivated patches of corn, beans,

squashes, and tobacco. The Indians possessed no domestic animal except the dog. The men were hunters, fishers, and warriors. It was the work of the women to prepare the food, cultivate the crops, and dress the skins which were used for clothing. The men made bows and arrows, tomahawks and war clubs, and graceful birch bark canoes. The women molded useful pottery, wove beautiful baskets, and fashioned garments of soft deer skin, which they decorated with beads and feathers. The Indians believed that spirits who could help or harm them lived in the earth and sky and they prayed and sacrificed to these spirits to win their good will.

The real nature of the Indian has been described best by Francis Parkman. He says, "Nature has stamped the Indian with a hard and stern physiognomy. Ambition, revenge, envy, jealousy, are his ruling passions. . . . With him revenge is an overpowering instinct; nay, more, it is a point of honor and duty. . . . A wild love of liberty, an utter intolerance of control, lie at the basis of his character, and fire his whole existence. . . . With him the love of glory kindles into a burning passion, and to allay its cravings, he will dare cold and famine, fire, tempest, torture, and death itself. These generous traits are overcast by much that is dark, cold, and sinister, by sleepless distrust and rankling jealousy. Treacherous himself, he is always suspicious of treachery in others. Brave as he is—and few of mankind are braver—he will vent his passion by a secret stab rather than an open blow. His warfare is full of ambuscade and stratagem."

**The nature
of the
Indian**

Such were the savage neighbors the earliest English settlers found in America. At first the Indians received the newcomers with confidence and hospitality. Some of the colonists tried to keep this early friendship of the Indians by treating them kindly and justly. So many of the settlers, however, acted in such a selfish, reckless, and brutal way toward the Indians that their early confidence in the white men soon turned to distrust, and this distrust quickly grew into bitter hatred. The Indians were cruel and barbarous by nature, and when they made war, women and children as well as fighting men fell under their merciless tomahawks. The white men soon came to fear and to loathe their savage neighbors, and in many instances to wage war upon them after the Indian fashion.

**The Indians
and the
white men**

Indian wars in Virginia

In nearly all the colonies the people suffered more or less from Indian attacks. In 1622 the Virginia Indians, while pretending to be friendly, formed a plot to exterminate the settlers. An attack was made upon all the settlements in the colony on the same day, and before the sun went down three hundred and forty-seven persons were slain. After beating off the first attack of the savages, the settlers arose in mass and hunted down the Indians in all quarters, killing many of them. In 1644 Virginia again suffered greatly from a similar Indian uprising.

The first settlers in the Connecticut valley had hardly built their log cabins before they were forced to fight for their

King Philip's War



Early Virginians Attacked by Indians

lives with the warlike Pequots. But King Philip's War was the most dreadful Indian uprising that the Puritan colonists ever faced. Philip was the son of Massasoit, the chief of the Pokanokets, who had been a firm friend of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. After his father's death, Philip plotted with the other tribes of New England to drive the English out of the land.

In the summer of 1675 the blow fell. Town after town was attacked and many settlers were killed. The situation was desperate, and for a time it looked as if the Indians might succeed in their purpose. But the Puritans were stout fighters, and in some instances the frontier towns beat off the attacks upon them. In the following winter, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut sent a force of a thousand men against the chief town of the Indians, which stood in the middle of a great swamp. In a fierce and bloody battle the white men stormed and burned this town and slew more than a thousand of the Indians. This great swamp fight broke the power of the Indians, but they kept up the hopeless struggle for six months longer. By the end of that time King Philip and most of his followers were killed, and the few Indians who survived were captured and sold into slavery in the West Indies.

Indian wars were by no means confined to Virginia and New England. Both the Dutch on the Hudson and the settlers in Carolina suffered from repeated Indian attacks. In Pennsylvania, William Penn made a famous treaty of friendship with the Indians which was "never sworn to and never broken." The kindness and justice of the Quakers, together with the fact that the Indian neighbors of the Quakers feared the Iroquois who were the friends of the English, saved eastern Pennsylvania from the horrors of Indian warfare. But the frontiersmen of central Pennsylvania, as well as the settlers on the northern borders of New York and New England, suffered fearfully at the hands of the Indians during the wars with the French and Indians and in the Revolution.

Other Indian troubles



Attack on the Narragansetts' Stronghold, 1675

The Growth of Industries.—The first need of the early settlers in America was for food, clothing, and shelter. This need made nearly all of them farmers, since most of the necessities of life come from the soil. Agriculture continued to be the chief occupation of the colonists throughout the colonial period of our history. Indeed, except in New England and New York, it was almost the only occupation.

Most colonists were farmers

A writer of colonial times tells us how a strong and industrious man with very little property except a gun, some powder and shot, and a few tools, could win a home for his family in the wilderness of America. Speaking of the settlers who were steadily occupying the lands of the colonies he says, "They maintain themselves the first year like the Indians, with their guns and nets, and afterward by the same means with the assistance of their lands. . . . The progress of their work is this: they fix upon the spot where they intend to build the house, and before they begin it, get ready a field for an orchard, planting it immediately with apples chiefly and some pears, cherries, and peaches. This they secure by an enclosure, then they plant a piece for the garden; and as

The making of a colonial farm

soon as these works are done, they begin their house; some are built by the countrymen without any assistance, but these are generally very bad hovels; the common way is to agree with a carpenter and a mason for so many days' work, and the countryman to serve them as a laborer, which with a few irons and other articles he cannot make is the whole expense: many a house is built for less than £20 (\$100). As soon as this work is over, which may be in a month or six weeks, he falls to work upon a field of corn, doing all the hard labor of it, and from not being able to buy horses, pays a neighbor for plowing it; perhaps he may be worth only a calf or two and a couple of young colts bought for cheapness: and he struggles with difficulties till these are grown: but when he has horses



Early Colonists Building a House

to work, and cows that give milk and calves, he is then made and on the road to plenty. It is surprising with how small a sum of money they will venture upon this course of settling: and it proves at the first mention how population must increase in a country where there are such

means of a poor man's supporting his family: and in which, the larger the family, the easier the undertaking."

Food plants
and domestic
animals

The early colonists brought with them to America the seeds of the grains, vegetables, and fruits with which they were familiar in their European homes: wheat, oats, rye, barley, beans, peas, onions, cabbages, apples, peaches, pears, and cherries. To these they soon added such native American plants as corn, potatoes, pumpkins, and tobacco. All our common domestic animals except the turkey—our horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry—are likewise natives of Europe and were unknown on the western continent before the white men came.

Tools

The colonists also brought such common tools as spades, noes, and axes from the Old World, and occasionally a plow was imported, although most of the crude plows, harrows, and carts of colonial days were made in America. The most striking difference between farm life in colonial times and at the present day is to be found in our wider use of machinery.

Our corn planters and grain drills, mowing machines, harvesters, and threshing machines, have taken the places of the hoes, scythes, sickles, and flails of our colonial ancestors.

Unlike the farmers of to-day the colonists bought and sold little, but produced on their own farms nearly everything that their families needed. Each farm was usually small and was worked by the owner with the help of his sons. It is true that there were many large plantations in the tobacco district of Virginia and in the rice swamps of South Carolina, but even in these colonies the small farms far outnumbered the great plantations.

Farms and
plantations

From the earliest colonial times there was a demand for a great deal of labor upon the tobacco and rice plantations of the South, and in all of the colonies some of the more prosperous farmers found more work upon their farms than they and the members of their families could do. The demand for labor was met in part by bringing over poor people from England who

Labor



An Example of an Old-time Plow

were bound, or "indentured," to serve for a term of years, after which they were given their freedom, and in part by gradually introducing negro slaves from Africa. For some time the indentured white servants were more numerous than the slaves, but in the later colonial period African slavery grew very rapidly. While there were negro slaves in all the colonies, there were far more of them in the South than in the North.

Although, as we have said, nearly all the colonists were farmers, they and their wives and children were obliged to do a great many other kinds of work. The colonial farmer was usually his own carpenter and blacksmith and frequently his own tanner and shoemaker. The housewife always made such necessary articles as soap and candles. There was a

Domestic
manufac-
tures

spinning wheel in every home, and the mother and daughters spun flax and wool into thread and yarn and often wove the cloth out of which they later made the clothing for the family. In fact, the colonial home was a factory in which was made nearly everything that the family needed and sometimes a few articles for sale. In many a New England farm house during the long winter evenings, while the women and girls were busy spinning and weaving, the men and boys made barrel staves, hoops, or shingles before the great fireplace in the kitchen. Staves and hoops found a ready market in the West Indies with which the New Englanders traded.

Other industries With the exception of shipbuilding, which flourished in New England, manufacturing outside of the homes of the people grew very slowly in the colonies. There were a few local sawmills, grist mills, and tanneries, and toward the latter part of the colonial era, mills for making cloth and shops where furniture, brass and copper ware, and hats were manufactured. Iron ore was found in nearly all the colonies, and in time a few furnaces for smelting it were set up. The iron thus secured was wrought into tools, farming implements, household utensils, and hardware of various kinds.

Colonial trade Notwithstanding all their efforts to make things for themselves, the colonists were always dependent upon England for many manufactured articles. The ships which brought these English goods to America carried back to England the grain, lumber, and furs of the Northern Colonies, the tobacco of Maryland and Virginia, the tar, pitch, and turpentine of North Carolina, and the rice and indigo of South Carolina. New England also enjoyed a rich trade with the West Indies, where she exchanged her fish, salted meats, and barrel staves for molasses. A large part of the molasses thus brought to New England was made into rum. Slave traders exchanged this rum for captive negroes on the west coast of Africa and sold the negroes in the West Indies or to the planters in the colonies.

Money The lack of money made it difficult to do business in the colonies as we carry it on today. Instead of buying and selling for money, the settlers frequently traded one article for another, as, for example, a pair of shoes for a coat or a cow for a horse. Such trading is called barter. There were a few English coins

in America, and some Spanish silver pieces came into the colonies as a result of the commerce with the West Indies. Pine tree shillings were coined at a mint established in Massachusetts, in 1652, and later some of the colonies issued paper money.



Pine-Tree Shilling.

The Government of the Colonies.—One of the first needs of each of the English colonies in America was a government to keep order among the people, to protect life and property, and to do the other useful and necessary things which our governments in township or city, county, state, and nation do for us today. Quite naturally, the early colonists tried to do these things as they were done in England in those days, but they soon found it necessary to change somewhat their English ideas about government and their English ways of managing affairs, in order to adapt them to the different conditions which existed in the new land to which they had come.

English ways
of governing
are set up in
America

In New England, where the colonists usually lived on small farms near the meeting houses which they attended, it was found most convenient for each neighborhood to look after its own affairs. Each little self-governing community was called a town or township. All the voters in each town met in an annual town meeting at which they elected officers to look after such matters as the care of stray animals, the making and repairing of roads, and the management of a school. The town meeting also decided how much money the town should raise by taxing its people and how it should spend the money thus secured. It also chose two men to represent the town in the legislature or lawmaking body of the colony.

Town
government
in New
England

In Virginia and the other southern colonies, where many of the colonists lived on large plantations, often considerable distances apart along the banks of the wide, deep rivers, the county was found to be the more convenient form of local government. The most important officers in the Virginia county were the sheriff and the justices of the peace. Instead of being elected by the people as the officers of the New England

County
government
in the South

town were, the county officers in the South were generally appointed by the governor of the colony. The sheriff kept order in his county and collected the taxes. The justices of

the peace held a court of quarter sessions, as it was called, because it usually met four times each year at the county court-house, at which they determined the amount of county tax, appointed persons to look after the care of the roads, and transacted any other necessary county business.

In the middle colonies, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, a mixed form of local government including both the county and the township grew up. In these colonies part of the work of managing local affairs was done by the county and part of it by the township, and each had the power to levy its own taxes. Both the county and the township officers were generally elected by the people. This mixed form of local govern-



An Old-time Sheriff

A mixed
form in the
middle
colonies

ment is especially important to-day because it is in use in nearly all our western states.

The
government
of the colony

Each of the forty-eight states which now form the United States of America has its own state government. The governments of all our states are very much alike. In each state there is a legislature which makes the laws, a governor who enforces them, and courts whose judges tell what the laws mean and apply them to individual cases. Governments very much like those in our states to-day grew up in the colonies during the colonial period of our history.

The
legislature

Each colony had its own legislature or lawmaking body. In every colony except Pennsylvania this lawmaking body was made up of two houses, usually called the assembly and the council. The members of the assembly were chosen by

the people, although in most of the colonies only those men who possessed a certain amount of property were allowed to vote. In a few instances the people also elected the councilors, but in most of the colonies the members of the council or upper house were appointed by the king upon the suggestion of the governor. In a general way the colonial assembly corresponded to the house of representatives in each of our present state legislatures, and the colonial council was the forerunner of the senate or upper house now found in every one of our states.

Each colony had a governor who enforced the law. In the charter colonies like Connecticut and Rhode Island the people elected their governor, and in Pennsylvania and Maryland, which were proprietary, the owner of the colony named the governor. Most of the colonies, however, sooner or later became royal provinces, and in them the governor was appointed by the king. The governor of a royal colony was the representative of the king, and had very much the same power in his province as the king possessed in the government of England.

The
governor

Some of the governors whom the king of England sent to rule over his colonies in America were good men who tried to govern wisely and justly. Many of them, however, were selfish and greedy men who sought to regain in America the fortunes which they had lost in the mother country. Many of the actions of these unworthy royal governors were resented by the colonists and there were numerous disputes between such governors and the representatives of the people in the colonial assemblies.

Bad
governors

Governor Berkeley of Virginia is a good example of the colonial governor who put his own private interest before the welfare of the people whom he was sent to govern. In 1675 the settlers on the Virginia frontier suffered fearfully from Indian attacks, but Governor Berkeley would not send soldiers to protect the people and punish the Indians because he was making a great deal of money out of the fur trade with the Indians. At last a young planter named Nathaniel Bacon raised a force of volunteers, and without the governor's permission defeated the Indians and saved the frontier settlements from the tomahawk. Governor Berkeley was very angry. He said that Bacon was a rebel and a traitor. A civil war broke

Bacon's
Rebellion

out between Bacon and Berkeley in which Bacon's rebels defeated the forces of the governor and burned Jamestown.



The Burning of Jamestown
This town was never rebuilt.

Just at this moment of victory Bacon died of a fever and, without their leader, his men soon fell into the hands of Governor Berkeley, who put many of them to death. In spite of its bloody end Bacon's Rebellion proved that the Virginia colonists dared to resist an unjust governor. It was a forerunner of the Revolution, which began just a century later.

The tyranny of Andros

In 1686, James II, who was the most tyrannical of all the Stuart kings of England, united all New England, New York, and New Jersey into one great province and sent over Sir Edmund Andros as its governor. The king authorized Andros to make laws and to tax the people without their consent. For two years Governor Andros ruled like a tyrant. He took away the charter of Massachusetts and attempted to seize the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, but failed in both instances. In Connecticut the charter was saved by hiding it in a hollow tree, which has ever since been known as the Charter Oak. In 1688 the English people drove the tyrant, James II, from the country, and put his daughter Mary and her husband, William of Orange, upon the throne. When the people in Boston heard of this English Revolution, they threw Andros into prison and later sent him back to England. King William now gave Massachusetts a new charter, while Connecticut and Rhode Island continued to be governed as they were before the coming of Andros.

The courts

Besides a lawmaking body and a governor, each colony had courts very much as our states have now. Small cases were tried by the justices of the peace, who were generally appointed by the governor. In each county there was a county court whose judges were appointed by the governor or, in some cases, elected by the assembly. The county court tried crim-

inals and settled important disputes concerning property. In each colony there was also a high court to which appeals could be made from the county courts. These high courts were very much like our present state supreme courts.

While England sometimes tried to interfere in the government of her American colonies, she let them alone, in the main, to manage their own political affairs very much as they pleased. The experience and training which the colonists got in governing themselves, in their townships, counties, and states, were very important in fitting them for the independence which they were to win at the close of the colonial period of our history.

Training in
self-
government

The Colonies and the Mother Country.—From the beginning, England looked upon the colonies as her children. She felt that they were planted by her care and that they ought to honor and obey her. This English feeling was well expressed by one of the royal governors of New York when he said, "All these colonies, which are but twigs belonging to the main tree, ought to be kept entirely dependent upon and subservient to England."

English
feeling
toward the
colonies

The English believed, as did all other people at that time, that nature had been generous to new countries whose natural resources were as yet untouched, and that colonists ought to share this bounty with their mother country. Accordingly, they looked to their American colonies to furnish them with food and raw materials which they needed, and to buy from them large quantities of manufactured goods. For example, they expected the colonists to sell them such things as iron, wool, furs, and hides, and then to buy of them the steel, clothing, hats, and shoes which they made out of these raw materials. The English did not want the colonists to sell to other nations any of their products which England desired, nor to buy elsewhere what they could buy in England, nor to manufacture at home any goods that would take the place of those the mother country had for sale.

Very early the Parliament of England began to pass laws to carry into effect the idea that colonies exist for the benefit of the mother country. In 1660 it declared that all trade with the colonies must be carried on in English or colonial ships. The same law provided that such colonial products as sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, and dyeing woods must be

The
Navigation
Acts

shipped to England or to another English colony. Grain, salt provisions, fish, and rum were not included in this list and the colonists could sell them anywhere.

A few years later the colonists were forbidden to import European goods, with a few exceptions, from any other country than England. At the same time it was ordered that colonial products which paid a duty in England should pay a similar duty when shipped from one English colony to another. Still later, rice, molasses, and naval stores were added to the long list of articles which the colonists could sell only in England. In 1733 very heavy duties were placed upon molasses and sugar brought to the colonies from the Spanish and French West Indies, for the purpose of forcing the colonists to buy these commodities at a higher price in the British West Indies.

These laws and many others like them, which were passed to compel the people of the colonies to buy and sell in England so that English manufacturers, merchants, and shipowners could make a profit from their trade, are called the Navigation Acts. England had no thought of oppressing her colonists by passing these trade laws. Such regulation of trade was in line with the best thought of the seventeenth century, and all colonizing countries had similar laws upon their statute books.

England also tried to make the colonists dependent upon her for an ever-increasing share of the manufactured goods which they needed, by restricting or prohibiting manufactories in America. In 1699 the people in each colony were forbidden to export yarn and woolen cloth "to any other place whatsoever." Later, hats were added to this list. At last, in 1750, the building of any more mills or forges for the manufacture of iron or steel was absolutely prohibited. While thus discouraging manufacture in her colonies, England encouraged them to produce the raw materials, such as pig iron, indigo, flax, hemp, timber, tar, and pitch, which the mother country used in her own manufactures.

The English settlers in America always resented the idea that the colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country. They had come to the new world at their own expense and they insisted that they lost none of their rights as Englishmen when they became colonists. They believed that they had as much right to trade with any part of the world as had the

Colonial
manufactur-
ing restricted

The colonists
resent and
disobey the
acts of trade

Englishmen who remained at home. With this belief the colonists declared that the Navigation Acts were unjust, and they disobeyed these English laws of trade at every opportunity.

The English officers in the colonies found it impossible to enforce the Navigation Acts. In fact, during most of the colonial period they did not try seriously to enforce them. Along with the lawful trade in fish, salt beef, pork, and grain,



"It Was Impossible to Enforce the Navigation Acts"

This picture shows a mob tarring and feathering an excise officer who tried to enforce the acts of trade.

which was carried on between the colonies and the West Indies, there sprang up an illegal but very profitable trade with those islands as well as with other parts of the world. The efforts of the English government to stop this illegal trade, or smuggling, and to enforce the Navigation Acts just at the close of the colonial period, were the foremost causes of the Revolution in which the colonies declared their independence of England.

REFERENCES.

Thwaites, *The Colonies*; Lodge, *A Short History of the English Colonies in America*; Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government*; Greene, *Pro-*

vincial America; Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. II; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*; Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. Indian Wars in the Carolinas. Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, II, 298-306.
2. King Philip's War. Fiske, *The Beginnings of New England*, 199-241.
3. The Colonial Farmer. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, 38-50.
4. The Commerce of the Colonies. Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*, 72-83.
5. The New England Township. Fiske, *Civil Government of the United States*, 16-32.
6. The Old Virginia County. Fiske, *Civil Government of the United States*, 57-67.
7. The Colonial Governments. Fiske, *Civil Government of the United States*, 140-159.
8. Bacon's Rebellion. Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, II, 45-107.
9. The Tyranny of Sir Edmund Andros. Fiske, *The Beginnings of New England*, 242-278.
10. The Story of Jacob Leisler. Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, 183-208.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Stories: Hawthorne, *Grandfather's Chair*; John Bennett, *Barnaby Lee*; Brooks, *In Leisler's Times*; Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*; Stimson, *King Noanett*; Goodwin, *White Aprons*; Cooke, *Stories of the Old Dominion*; Seton, *Charter Oak*; Brooks, *The Story of New York*; Walton and Brumbaugh, *Stories of Pennsylvania*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. What important event happened in England in 1640? In 1660? In 1688? Show how each of these events influenced the history of the English colonies in America.
2. Did the land in America belong to the Indians? Was it right for the white men to settle in America without the consent of the Indians? Could the wars between the early settlers and the Indians have been avoided?
3. How did life on a colonial farm differ from farm life today? Write

a list of the things now made in factories which the colonists manufactured in their homes.

4. How does the difference between the geography of New England and that of the southern colonies help to explain the differences in the local government of these sections? Which of the three forms of local government described in this chapter prevails in the state in which you live?

5. Were the Navigation Acts wise laws? Why? Was it wrong for the colonists to disobey these laws? Why?

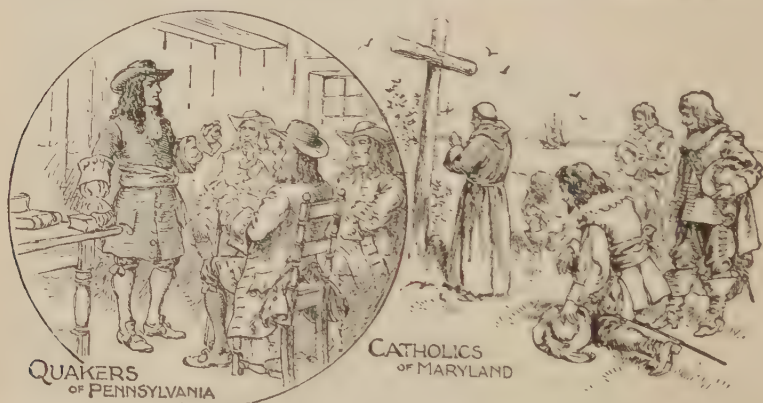


CHAPTER IV

OUR COLONIAL ANCESTORS

People from
many lands
came to
America

The Europeans Who Became Colonists.—The greater part of the inhabitants of the colonies, whose beginnings and growth we have been studying, were of English origin. But we must not think that all the early settlers in the English colonies in America came from England. Great numbers of them looked back to the other countries of the British Islands—to Scotland, Wales, and Ireland—as their Old-World homes. Many others



came from Germany. The sons of Holland, Sweden, and France also played important parts in planting the settlements which were to grow into the United States of America. All these European peoples were our ancestors.

The English The settlers who came from England, however, were not only far more numerous than those from any other European country, they were also more widely scattered throughout the colonies. Most of the early Virginians, nearly all the Puritans who came to New England, and the greater part of the Quakers settled in New Jersey and Pennsylvania were natives of England. In all the other colonies the English element in the population was very large. The colonists of English birth and their descendants have had a far greater part in the making of

America than the men of any other race. John Smith, William Bradford, John Winthrop, Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, William Penn, and James Oglethorpe were all Englishmen.

The number of Dutch and Swedish settlers in the valleys of the Hudson and the Delaware was not large, but they had a marked influence upon the history and life of those regions. The Van Rensselaers, the Schuylers, and other families descended from the early Dutch immigrants, have played a great part in the making of the state of New York. There are many people in Delaware, southern New Jersey, and south-eastern Pennsylvania who can trace their ancestry back to the Swedes who colonized in that section. The Dutch
and Swedes

Toward the close of the seventeenth century, after nearly all the English colonies were founded, many Huguenots, or French Protestants, came to America. These people fled to the new world to escape a terrible religious persecution in their own land. They settled in many of the colonies, but there were more of them in South Carolina than anywhere else. Among the descendants of these French settlers there are many men who have been famous in our history. The French

Soon after 1700 a steady stream of German immigrants began to come to the American colonies. This German stream continued to flow westward throughout the remainder of the colonial period of our history. Religious persecution, the hope of bettering their condition in life, and, in the case of the large number who came from the Rhine valley, the desire to escape from a land wasted by war, were the causes of the great German migration to the American colonies. The
Germans

Some of the first comers from Germany settled in the Mohawk Valley in New York, but the great majority of the Germans who came to America in the eighteenth century made their homes in Pennsylvania where they occupied whole counties. Soon some of the Germans who came to Pennsylvania, and their descendants, began to move into the interior of the country toward the southwest, and in the course of time there were large numbers of them in western Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Companies of German pioneers also came direct from their fatherland to the Carolinas and Georgia.

The Germans in Pennsylvania lived by themselves and

kept their own language and customs, as their descendants continue to do to this day in some sections of that state. They were a hard-working and thrifty race. They settled upon some of the best land in America, and in time they came to be the best farmers in the colonies. An eighteenth century writer who knew the Pennsylvania German farmers well, speaks of

their "extensive fields of grain, full fed herds, luxurious meadows, orchards promising loads of fruit, together with spacious barns and commodious stone dwelling houses."

The Scotch-Irish were another important element in the population of the colonies. They were the descendants of Scotch people who had settled in the north of Ireland in the early part of the seventeenth century. These settlers, like most of the Scotch, were Presbyterians in religion. About a century after they went to live in Ireland, petty religious persecution and the heavy taxes laid upon them by the English government drove large numbers of these Scotch-Irishmen to



The Scotch-Irish

America. A few of them settled in New England, many made their way to the southern colonies, but probably the largest number found homes in Pennsylvania.

The Scotch-Irish settlers were among the later immigrants to the colonies and most of them pushed on beyond the districts near the coast, which were already settled, to the frontier where it was still easy to get land. The Scotch-Irish were a bold

and hardy race of men who loved the free life of the border. They furnished a large proportion of the pioneers who won the colonial frontier from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas from the Indians and the wilderness, and then led the way over the Alleghany Mountains into the valley of the Mississippi.

Besides the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians there were many Roman Catholic Irish in Maryland and Pennsylvania and a few of them in nearly every one of the other colonies. Then, too, thousands of Scotch came direct from Scotland to the American colonies. They were especially numerous in North Carolina. Such Welsh names as Gwynedd, Bryn Mawr, and Tredyffrin, all places in Pennsylvania, near Philadelphia, suggest the home land of the founders of these settlements.

What the Colonists Brought from Europe to America.—

The men who colonized America brought with them to the new world the civilization of the Old-World lands from which they came. They could not leave behind them their own traits of character nor the ideas, customs, and beliefs which they had inherited from their ancestors. It was just as natural for them to set up in the colonies the social and political institutions which they had known at home. We have already seen how they also brought with them the seeds of their industrial life, the grains, fruits, domestic animals, arts, and crafts of their old homes. Life in America, as we know it, was planted here by our European ancestors and has grown from what they brought with them from Europe. But American life has become somewhat different from life in Europe because of the new conditions which our European ancestors found in America.

The colonists brought Old-World ways of living and thinking with them.

The various races which colonized in the United States had many common characteristics, yet each possessed its own peculiar traits, and all these traits have helped to make the American people what they now are. In the making of Americans the influence of the English has been far greater than that of any other race. The colonists from England were a strong, brave, and enterprising people, fond of outdoor life, industrious, shrewd in business, and very tenacious of purpose. The English brought to America our language, our laws, and our forms of government.

English character, language, and law

In most respects the early Dutch and Swedish settlers

upon the Hudson and the Delaware strongly resembled the English. Many of the Dutch were traders or merchants, while, as a rule, the Swedes were sturdy farmers.

French
intelligence
and skill

The French Huguenots were a particularly desirable class of settlers and, in proportion to their numbers, they added a very great contribution to the making of our country. Nearly all of them came from the cities of France, where they were skilled workmen, merchants, or scholars. They brought with them to the new world their habits of industry, their keen intelligence, and their upright character. They have furnished a large number of leaders in every department of life in America.

German
industry and
thrift

The Germans who came to the colonies in such large numbers during the eighteenth century were a quiet, hard-working, frugal and thrifty race. They were very poor when they arrived in America, but their industrious habits soon brought them prosperity. They were a very religious people, honest in their dealings and contented in spirit. As we have seen, they wished to remain German and consequently they clung tenaciously to the customs, language, and literature of their fatherland.

Scotch-Irish
energy and
love of
liberty

There could hardly be a greater contrast than that between the plodding and peaceful Germans and the stern, aggressive, warlike Scotch-Irish, who came about the same time, and settled in the same parts of the country. The Scotch-Irish were a rugged and hardy race—energetic, steadfast, and liberty-loving. They were famous Indian fighters and did much to

win the western lands from the redmen. The Scotch-Irish were a religious people and strong believers in education, which they did much to foster in the colonies. Next to the English, they have probably had a greater influence upon America than any other race element in its population.



Colonial Spinning Wheel and Loom

Ideas of
industry

Besides these characteristics of their various races, our colonial ancestors brought with them to America a

knowledge of the ways of making a living which prevailed in their old homes across the sea. Along with the common food plants, the domestic animals, and the simple farming tools of the old world, they brought a knowledge of the arts and crafts of their time. They could saw lumber, build houses and ships, make bricks, tan leather, spin and weave both flax and wool, and make a great many other things which were necessities then as now in every home.

Our colonial ancestors brought with them to America their ways of thinking, their opinions, and their prejudices. Many of their beliefs seem very superstitious to us. When the colonies were established, nearly all people still believed that the sun, the moon, and the stars revolve around the earth. These heavenly bodies were thought to exert great influence upon affairs. The right time to plant potatoes, to cut timber, to kill pigs, to cut hair, to take medicine, and to do many other things, was determined by the phases of the moon. Any unusual appearance in the sky, like a comet, was thought to be a sure sign of some coming disaster like pestilence or war.

The invisible world was a very real world to the colonists. They thought that angels and devils were all about them. There was a haunted house in nearly every community, and most people lived in fear of ghosts. The belief in witchcraft was as common in the colonies as it had long been in Europe. A witch was a person, usually an old woman, who was believed to have sold her soul to Satan in exchange for the power to do all sorts of harmful things. When butter would not come in the churn, or when pigs or cattle were sick, it was thought to be the work of witches.

Opinions and
superstitions



A Trial for Witchcraft

Witchcraft

**The Salem
delusion**

In the European countries from which the colonists came witchcraft had long been punished by death, and it is not strange that the early American settlers should inflict the same penalty upon those they thought to be in league with the evil one. Sometimes a whole community would be thrown into the most unreasonable excitement about the work of witches. The worst instance of such foolish agitation was in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692, where twenty persons were executed for witchcraft and many others thrown into jail. In a short time the excitement passed away and the prisoners were released. When the people of Salem came to think soberly about what they had done many of them were sincerely repentant. Since the famous Salem delusion there has never been an execution for witchcraft in our country.

**Ideals and
character**

Along with these mistaken ideas and silly superstitions, the colonists brought some of the finest thoughts and noblest ideals of the world. Many of them dared the stormy Atlantic because

"They sought a faith's pure shrine"

The splendid literature of England, the highest standards of conduct and character of their time, and the purest Christian faith and life were the priceless possessions of many of our earliest American ancestors.

Many of the social and political institutions of England were transplanted to America by the English settlers and, in

**English
ideas of
government
and law
prevail in
America**



The Ducking Stool Was Used to Punish Women
Accused of Scolding or Slander.

time, adopted by the colonists who came from other lands. Local self-government, the right to be represented in the law-making body, and trial by jury for those accused of crime, all came to America from England very early in colonial history. With English laws there came many cruel punishments which were then common in the mother country. The stocks, the pillory, and the whipping post were set up in America just as they existed in England in the seventeenth century. Such old English punishments as cropping the ears or

branding the hand with a hot iron were not unknown in the colonies. Sometimes drunkards were compelled to wear a red letter "D" about their necks. In some of the colonies, women were punished for scolding or slander by binding them to an iron seat called the ducking stool and dipping them in the water. All these cruel punishments have passed away, but our laws for the protection of life and property still rest upon the common law of England which our ancestors brought to America.

What the Colonists Found in the New World.—The history of our country has been influenced quite as much by the conditions and opportunities which our forefathers found in America as it has been by the ideas and ways of doing things which they brought with them from Europe. The location, the natural resources, and the climate of any country have a very great influence upon the lives of its people. Their health, their ways of making a living, their successes and their failures largely depend upon the geographical features of the land in which they live. We have just read about the heritage which our ancestors brought with them to the New World. It is no less important to inquire about what kind of country they found upon the western shore of the Atlantic.

We are influenced by our environment

To the early colonists at Jamestown and Plymouth, America must have seemed a dreadful wilderness filled with peril of all sorts. They soon found out that its dangers and hardships were real enough. But more slowly the first American pioneers came to realize that they had taken possession of the coast of a vast continent with an almost infinite variety of natural resources.

Perils of the wilderness

During the entire colonial period the settlements were confined to the Atlantic seaboard lying between the coast and the Appalachian mountain system. Yet even in this region, so small in comparison with the vast Mississippi Valley beyond the mountains, almost every kind of soil and climate was found. When white men first saw it, the eastern part of the United States was covered with a dense forest. The North was the home of the white pine from which most of our lumber has come, from colonial days almost to the present time. The yellow pine was the most important tree in the southern forests. The oak, chestnut, hickory, maple, and many other fine trees were widely distributed throughout the colonies. Some of the

Resources of the Atlantic seaboard

land on the Atlantic seaboard was unfit for cultivation, but much of it was very fertile, and after the forest was cleared away it produced in abundance the grains, vegetables, and fruits of Europe as well as the native American plants, tobacco and Indian corn.

It was early discovered that the wide, lazily flowing rivers of the southern colonies were splendid roads leading into the interior of the country, and as a consequence, the settlements spread naturally along these waterways.



An Early Colonial Sawmill

The shorter and more rapid streams of New England furnished abundant water power to turn the wheels of the sawmills and grist mills of that section, and in this way they helped to determine the location of the

towns that grew up near some of these mills.

Mineral
wealth

Beneath the surface of the land there lay hidden a mineral wealth of which the early colonists never dreamed, but whose later development was to play a very important part in the making of our country. In the course of time it was found that the colonies were rich in iron ore and in coal. Building stone, clay for making brick, sand for glass, and slate for roofing were found in many places, and limestone and cement rock were abundant. Some of these natural resources were not developed until long after the close of the colonial period.

Game, fur,
and fish

From the first the deer, bear, wild fowl, and other game which the colonists found in America, furnished an important part of their supply of food, but the turkey is the only one of these animals which has ever been domesticated. Even more valuable than the wild game were such fur-bearing animals as the mink, the sable, and especially the beaver. Trapping and fur trading were important industries in early colonial history. In most places our American game and fur-bearing animals have been exterminated or are preserved in small numbers to-day under the protection of strict game laws. But the herring, mackerel, cod, shad, and other fish which the first settlers

found in great numbers along the Atlantic coast, still furnish a considerable part of our food supply.

The climate of a country is no less important than the fertility of its soil in its influence upon the lives of the people. Indeed, without the proper degree of heat and an adequate supply of moisture to make plants grow, a fertile soil is of little value. Scarcely less important is the effect of climate and other geographical conditions upon the health of the people. The settlers in a low, wet, swampy region where mosquitoes abound are certain to suffer much from malaria and fevers. This fact explains in part the fearful suffering and high death rate among the early colonists in Virginia.

The
influence of
climate

The first European settlers upon our Atlantic Coast found a temperate climate with an abundant rainfall. They found, however, great diversity of temperature as well as of natural resources in the long stretch of country between Maine and Georgia. Partly because of this diversity the northern and southern colonists came to differ widely in their occupations, their interests, and their mode of life.

When our European ancestors came to America they faced the gigantic task of subduing a vast wilderness and fitting it for the home of civilized man. In working out this task they cleared away the forests, cultivated the land, built houses, roads, and cities, and began to develop the rich natural resources of a continent. This conquest of nature has been attended by privation, hardships without number, and unceasing toil. But the work of winning a continent from the wilderness has changed our European forefathers into the bold, energetic, self-reliant, persevering American people.

Life in the
New World
made
Americans
of the
colonists

The colonists found what they sought in the New World. Those who were led across the Atlantic by love of adventure found it in full measure. Those who came to better their condition of life won homes in a land of plenty. Those who were driven out of their fatherlands by tyranny and oppression found liberty. Those who fled from religious persecution found freedom to worship God.

The Homes of the Colonists.—A house in which to live was one of the first needs of the early colonist. It was not easy to supply this need, in spite of the fact that the finest timber, clay, and building stone were near at hand, for these newcomers

The early
homes of the
settlers

had neither sawmills, brick kilns, nor stone cutters. At first many of the pioneers took refuge in caves dug in a river bank or in wigwams like those of the Indians. Such shelter, however, was only temporary. With his trusty axe the settler soon cut logs and with the help of his neighbors built a cabin.

The first log cabins were rude affairs, little more than huts or hovels. In time, larger and more comfortable houses were built with the cracks between the logs "chinked" with wedges of wood and daubed with clay to keep them warm and dry. There was no glass in the windows, which were closed with

shutters to keep out the rain. The rough door was hung with strips of leather or on wooden hinges. The roof was covered with bark shingles and the floor was made of puncheons, which were split logs smoothed off on the face with the axe.

As the colonies grew and thrived, the log house gave place to a larger and more convenient dwelling of wood, brick or stone. The typical small farmhouse of colonial days was of one story, with two rooms, a kitchen which was



A Log Cabin on the Frontier

the living room of the family, and a bedroom with one or more beds and a trundle-bed. The older children slept in a garret, to which they climbed by means of a ladder. Many of these smaller houses were neither lathed nor plastered, and had oiled paper instead of glass in the windows. Some of the more prosperous farmers and planters built larger houses with plastered walls and glass windows. A few of these comfortable old colonial houses, with their heavy oak timbers, low rooms, great fireplaces, and massive stone chimneys, still stand, gray and weather-beaten, but as firm and solid as ever. In the later colonial days the wealthy planters of Virginia and some of the rich

The colonial house



THE FIRST THANKSGIVING AT PLYMOUTH—1621

After they had gathered their first harvest in America in 1621, the Pilgrim Fathers set aside a time for thanksgiving and rejoicing. Their Indian friends visited them and for three days they all feasted upon hasty pudding, clam chowder, wild fowl, and venison. It is said that one of the Indians brought something like a bushel of popped corn, a dainty hitherto unknown to the Pilgrims.

merchants of Boston and Philadelphia lived in splendid mansions with handsome staircases and many spacious rooms.

X The houses of the colonists, from the plainest log cabins to the finest mansions, were without most of the comforts and conveniences found in nearly all our homes today. Our modern ways of heating our houses by steam, hot water, hot air furnaces or stoves, were unknown. All the warmth and much of the light in the colonial home came from the great fireplace in the kitchen, the

Lack of conveniences

most cheerful and homelike room in the house. A few of the larger houses had fireplaces in other rooms. At first the settlers used torches made of blazing pine knots for lighting purposes. Later, candles and lamps in which whale oil was burned, came into use. The water supply of the household was carried in buckets from the nearest spring or well.



The Chew House
A colonial mansion in Germantown, Philadelphia.

The windows of the colonial house were small, its walls were bare, and its uncarpeted floor was often strewn with rushes or sand. Except in the homes of the rich, the furniture was plain and scanty. The table, chairs, and benches were homemade. The table was set with pewter platters, wooden plates, wooden or pewter spoons, and cups of wood or leather. There were no forks, no saucers, no glass, and very little china. In the houses of the wealthy there was fine furniture from England, and silverware shone on great sideboards of polished mahogany.

Furniture and utensils

The clothing of the colonists, like most of the furniture in their homes, was plain and strong. It was made of coarse linen and heavy woolen cloth woven by the women from home-grown flax and wool. Often the men wore deerskin or sheepskin breeches. The clothing of the masses of the people was neat and clean but never showy. But the few rich who could afford it, made a great display in their dress. The men wore broadcloth and velvet, lace ruffles, silk stockings, and shoes

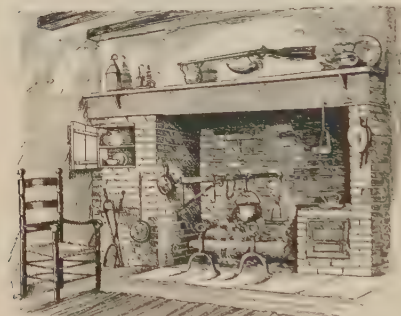
Clothing

with silver buckles, and the women dressed even more extravagantly in silks and brocades.

Food and drink

The food of our colonial forefathers was coarse but abundant. Wild game, fish, beef, and pork were plentiful. The fields of corn supplied delicious roasting ears, corn bread, and hominy. Some wheat and rye were grown. Beans, pumpkins, and squashes were an important part of the food supply. The orchards were full of apples, pears, and peaches. The cows supplied milk, butter, and cheese. Sugar and molasses, imported from the West Indies, were supplemented by wild honey and maple sugar. Tea and coffee were not brought to America until long after the first colonies were settled. Hard cider, rum, and, in the South, peach brandy were common drinks, and there was much shameful drunkenness.

The old-time fireplace



A Colonial Kitchen Showing Household Implements in General Use

The food of the colonists was cooked in a pot hung over the fire in the great kitchen fireplace, or roasted on a spit, or baked in an oven before it. This fireplace, with its great oak backlog, with the rifle and powderhorn hanging above it, and with the spinning wheel standing by its side, was the real heart of the old-time home. In his famous poem, "Snow Bound," Whittier tells us of the homely contentment of the old-time family as all its members gathered before the hearth-fire's ruddy glow on a cold winter evening:

"Shut in from all the world without,
We sat the clean-winged hearth about,
Content to let the north wind roar
In baffled rage at pane and door,
While the red logs before us beat
The frost line back with tropic heat;
And ever, when a louder blast
Shook beam and rafter as it passed,
The merrier up its roaring draught
The great throat of the chimney laughed,

The house dog, on his paws outspread,
 Laid to the fire his drowsy head,
 The cat's dark silhouette on the wall
 A couchant tiger's seemed to fall;
 And, for the winter fireside meet,
 Between the andiron's straddling feet
 The mug of cider simmered slow,
 And apples sputtered in a row.
 And, close at hand, the basket stood
 With nuts from brown October's wood.
 What matter how the night behaved?
 What matter how the north wind raved?
 Blow high, blow low, not all its snow
 Could quench our hearthfire's ruddy glow."



A Fox Hunting Scene in Colonial Virginia
 Young Washington and his friend, Lord Fairfax, are following the hounds.

Social Life in Colonial Days.—During the colonial period of our history, very few people either in Europe or America believed that all men are created equal. In all the colonies distinct social classes existed, and differences in rank were recognized by everybody. There were at least four distinct social groups. At the top were the aristocratic people: the great planters of the South, the patroons of New York, the

Differences
in rank

The
aristocrats

"old families" of New England, and the wealthy landowners of the middle colonies. The members of this upper class were the most highly educated and held most of the offices. They were much respected by all and possessed very great influence.

The middle
class

The mass of the people belonged to the large middle class of farmers and tradesmen. In the South the farmers usually owned a few slaves who did most of the work on their farms, but in the northern colonies all the members of this class worked, and worked hard. Except in New England the men of the middle class had very little education. They were often rude and rough, but they were always brave, sturdy, and liberty-loving.



Sedan Chairs
The taxicabs of colonial days.

The lower
classes

The lower class was made up of the indentured white servants and their thrifless descendants who were called "poor whites" in the South. While some of these servants were men of force and character, who became prosperous after winning their freedom, a great many of them were of very inferior quality, convicts sent over from the mother country, and paupers from the slums of English cities. Sharply marked off from the poor whites by the line of color, were the negro slaves, the lowest social class of all.

We have already seen that a vast majority of the colonists were farmers. There was a much smaller number of mechanics, merchants, sailors, and fishermen. At first there were few

doctors and no lawyers at all. The members of the legal profession did not occupy a place of importance in American life until just before the Revolution, in which they played a prominent part. The colonial physicians had very little medical knowledge or surgical skill. They were "herb-doctors" and "blood-letters," and depended upon all sorts of silly nostrums to cure diseases.

The colonists eagerly welcomed every diversion from the constant round of daily toil which filled their lives. House raisings, husking and quilting bees were pleasant social occasions to all the people of a neighborhood. The work at one of these bees was always followed by an ample dinner at which there was likely to be hard drinking. Weddings were times of feasting and excitement and often of much rough horseplay. Even the funerals were occasions of feasting and, too often, of drunkenness.

The Puritans were opposed to the popular amusements of their time, but outside of New England the colonists brought to America the horse-racing, gambling, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, wrestling, and other rough and brutal sports which were common in England in the seventeenth century. Picnics and dancing parties were favorite diversions in the middle and southern colonies. Skating and sleighing came from Holland with the early Dutch settlers. In all the colonies the people enjoyed the finest hunting and fishing almost at their doors.

The colonist seldom traveled far from home, and when necessity forced him to go on a journey he found it a serious



Social
occasions

A Colonial Chaise and Outrider
Such carriages were used by the rich.

Amusements

Travel

undertaking. At first nearly all travel was by water. Boats were used in passing to and from such large coast towns as Boston, Plymouth, and Salem; and between settlements and plantations upon rivers like the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, and the James. The Indian trails, as the narrow footpaths made by the red men were called, were the earliest roads. At first the roads were mere bridle paths and all travel



Traveling on Horseback, the Lady Seated on a Pillion

over them was on foot or horseback. Pack horses were used to carry goods from place to place. When better roads were opened, two-wheeled chaises and wagons came into use, but until near the close of the colonial days, people who made a journey of any length, traveled on horseback. In every town a tavern, kept by a leading citizen, cared for travelers and provided a favorite meeting place for the folk of the neighborhood.

In colonial days the people were far more neighborly

Neighborliness

than we are now. The settlers helped one another in such work as burning brush, pulling stumps, husking corn, or raising the framework of a barn. If any one was ill, kindly neighbors came and volunteered to nurse the sick. If death came to a family, the neighbors arranged the funeral and took charge of all the affairs of the house and the farm until it was over. We now buy these services with money, but in doing so we have lost that spirit of neighborliness which meant so much to our colonial ancestors.

Education encouraged in New England

The Schools of Our Forefathers.—The Puritans of New England highly esteemed education and very early took steps to set up a system of public schools. By the famous Massachusetts law of 1647, every township of fifty families was directed to employ a teacher to teach all children to read and write. The same law provided that as soon as any town contained one hundred families it should establish a grammar

school to prepare boys for college. An elementary education was compulsory in all the New England colonies except Rhode Island.

The early Dutch settlers on the Hudson set up common schools, but after their colony passed into the hands of the English these schools were neglected. In Pennsylvania there was little attempt at public education outside of Philadelphia, where the famous Penn Charter School opened its doors in 1698. There were some good schools in the towns of the middle colonies, but those in the country were few and very

Some
schools in
the middle
colonies



Colonial Tavern and Stage-coach
A familiar scene on the highway in later colonial days.

poor. Some of the German and Scotch-Irish ministers taught the rudiments of an education to the children of their congregations, and in the later colonial period, a few academies were established.

In Virginia and the colonies south of it the means of education were sadly lacking. While there were a few schools, most of the children in the southern colonies received only the limited instruction which their parents could give them at home. In the homes of the wealthy planters, tutors were kept to teach the boys and girls, and occasionally a rich man sent his son to be educated in England.

But few in
the South

Opposition
to free
schools

The lack of schools in the South was partly due to the widely scattered plantations and partly to the fact that many of the aristocratic planters did not wish all children to be taught at public expense. This opinion was frankly expressed by Governor Berkeley of Virginia, in 1670, when he said: "I thank God that there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have [them] these hundred years; for learning hath brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best of governments. God keep us from both!" Berkeley and those who agreed with him knew that if all the people were educated they would soon demand the right to govern themselves.

Colonial
school-
houses



School in the Days of the Early Settlers in a Log Cabin Schoolhouse

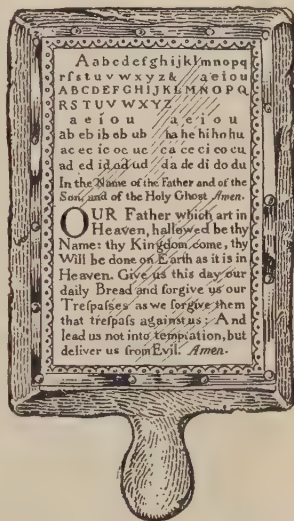
The schoolhouses of colonial days were very small and uncomfortable. The first of these in the country districts of New York and Pennsylvania have been described as follows: "They were universally made of logs. Some had a rough puncheon floor, others, a 'dirt' floor which readily ground into dust two or three inches thick that unruly pupils would purposely stir up in clouds to annoy the master and disturb the school. Usually the teacher sat in

the middle of the room, and pegs were thrust between the logs around the walls, three or four feet from the ground; boards were laid on these pegs; at these rude desks sat the older scholars with their backs to the teacher. Younger scholars sat on blocks or benches of logs." There was a fireplace at one end of the room. When a better schoolhouse took the place of this rough hut of logs, it was often built with many sides, and furnished somewhat like that shown in the picture on this page.

The teacher of the colonial school was nearly always a

man. Many of the teachers were poorly fitted for their work. Their methods of teaching were tiresome, and their discipline was harsh and severe. They believed in not "sparing the rod and spoiling the child." They taught without the aid of blackboards, slates, or maps, and even paper was hard to get. Teachers

The schoolbooks were few and uninteresting. The little children learned their letters and their first spelling lessons from a hornbook. This was really not a book at all, but a sheet of paper with letters and simple syllables on it. This was placed upon a flat piece of wood and covered with a thin sheet of transparent horn. At the lower end of the wooden block there was a little handle. The hornbook was succeeded by the *New England Primer*, the most widely used schoolbook that has ever been studied in America. The primer was a little book in which each letter of the alphabet was illustrated by a picture and a set of rhymes, nearly all of which were about incidents in the Bible. These rhymes began with



Schoolbooks
of the olden
time

Hornbook

"In Adam's fall
We sinned all,"

And ended with

"Zaccheus he
Did climb a tree
His Lord to see."

After the *New England Primer* came the spelling book, and if a pupil advanced beyond this, he was given a Latin grammar. Great stress was laid upon arithmetic or "ciphering," as it was called. Few textbooks in arithmetic were used, but the teacher had a manuscript "sum-book" from which he gave out rules and problems to his pupils. Especial attention was devoted to penmanship, and to "write a good hand" The course
of study

was thought one of the finest accomplishments. Goose-quill pens were used in writing, and it was no small part of the teacher's duty to make and mend these pens. Little or no attention was given to geography, history, or any of the other branches now taught in our common schools.

Colleges

The first college in the colonies was founded at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1636, and was named for John Harvard, a Puritan minister who gave it one-half his estate and all his library. About sixty years after this William and Mary College in Virginia, and Yale College in Connecticut were established. Before the close of the colonial era, Princeton, King's College, now Columbia University, the University of Pennsylvania, Brown, and Dartmouth had been added to this list.



William and Mary College
This was the first college in Virginia.

When the Revolution came, every colony north of Maryland had a college within its borders, but William and Mary was still the only one in the South. Any good high school to-day offers a better education than could be secured in the colleges of the colonies.

Printing in the colonies

Newspapers, magazines, and books are almost as important in the education of a free people as their schools and colleges. Without the printing press we could hardly have popular education or democratic government. The first press in the English colonies in America was set up in Massachusetts in 1638, and before the colonial period ended there were presses in every colony. However, most of the books which the colonists used were printed in England. Almanacs, weekly newspapers, pamphlets, and schoolbooks like the *New England*

Primer made up the chief output of the colonial press before the Revolution.

X Colonial Churches and Religious Life.—Our leading religious denominations came from Europe to America in colonial times. The early Virginians were strict Church of England men, or Episcopalians. Sooner or later the Anglican, or Episcopalian, Church became the state church in all the colonies south of New England except Pennsylvania, though in several of them only a minority of the people belonged to it. In all the colonies of New England except Rhode Island, the Congregational Church was established by law. There were Roman Catholics in Maryland, Quakers in Pennsylvania, and Baptists in Rhode Island. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was a missionary in Georgia. Some of the Germans were Lutherans, but there were many other sects among them. Most of the Scotch-Irish were devout Presbyterians.

Religious
denomina-
tions

The first American churches, like the earliest dwellings and schoolhouses, were rough log buildings, but as soon as the people were able they built better houses of worship. Both the Puritan and Quaker meetinghouses were plain and bare within, though the Puritans built fine, high steeples upon the roofs of their churches. The Episcopal churches in the South were more richly furnished. Some of them were built of stone and modeled after the parish churches in England.

Early
churches

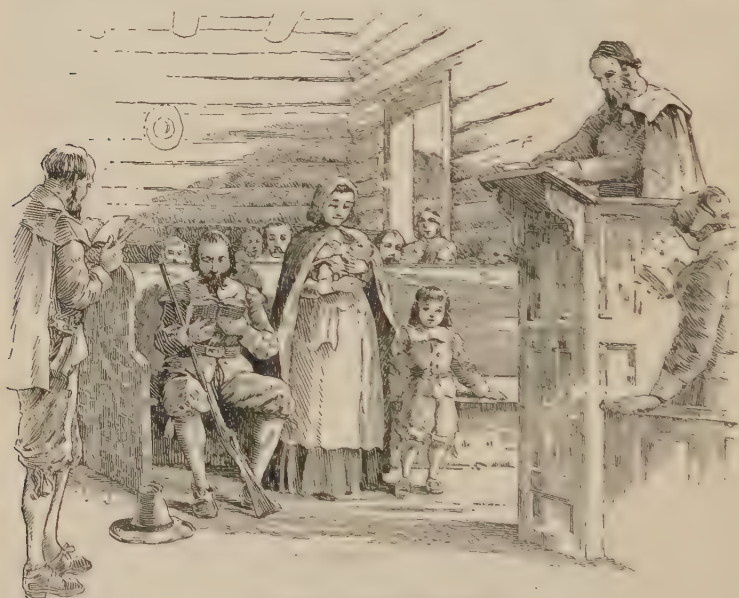
Some of the men sent over from England to be the rectors of the Anglican churches in America were ignorant, selfish, and vicious; others, however, were of the highest character and were devoted to their duties. As a rule the colonial ministers were zealous, upright, able men who possessed great influence over the people of their respective communities. The spirit of the colonial clergy was well expressed by Jonathan Edwards, its greatest member, when he said, "I am resolved to live with all my might while I do live."

The clergy

The service in a colonial church would have seemed very cheerless and tedious to us. The people were summoned to it by a horn, or drum, or bell. Every one was expected to attend. In the early New England churches and in the Quaker meetinghouses, the men and women sat on opposite sides of the room as they have continued to do in some of the Quaker meetings until the present. In many of the churches the people were

The church
service

seated according to their rank and dignity. In New England the boys sat in a group by themselves, and a man was appointed to keep them in order. The churches were unheated in winter, and the women and children sometimes carried little foot-stoves filled with hot coals to keep their feet warm. The service was not shortened, however, because the church was so cold. It usually consisted of the singing of psalms, of a prayer an hour long, and of a sermon lasting two or three hours.



A Puritan Minister Preaching

Strict
Sabbath
keeping

In all the colonies the Sabbath was kept far more strictly than it is now, but in New England the laws against Sabbath-breaking were especially severe. All kinds of work and all forms of recreation on the first day of the week were sternly forbidden. No one was permitted to cook, to ride, except to and from church, or to walk in the streets or by the seashore. Any one who broke the Sunday laws was severely punished by fine or whipping.

When the colonies were planted, nearly all the people in

the world were intolerant of differences in belief or worship, and religious persecution was the rule. This spirit of intolerance came to America from the Old World. In Virginia, Catholics and Quakers were pilloried and fined, and in Massachusetts four Quakers were put to death because they persisted in preaching their faith. Maryland and Rhode Island showed the way to broader toleration, and Pennsylvania had genuine religious freedom from its earliest days.

Intolerance

Our colonial ancestors were a deeply religious people. Their fear of God, their upright lives, and their high sense of duty to their fellow men are as much a part of our rich heritage from them as their habits of industry, their dauntless courage, their capacity for self-government, and their love of liberty.

Our heritage
from our
ancestors

REFERENCES.

Thwaites, *The Colonies*; Lodge, *A Short History of the English Colonies in America*; Greene, *Provincial America*; Channing, *History of the United States*, Vols. I, II; Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization*; Brigham, *Geographic Influences in American History*; Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days*; Child, *Life in Colonial Days*; Fisher, *Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Coming of the Foreigners. Channing, *History of the United States*, II, 401-420.
2. The Medical Notions of the Colonists. Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization*, 48-80.
3. The Story of the Salem Witchcraft. Fiske, *New France and New England*, 133-196.
4. The Eastern Gateway of the United States. Brigham, *Geographic Influences in American History*, 1-36.
5. A Visit to a Virginia Plantation. Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, II, 220-230.
6. A Picture of Life in Virginia. Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, II, 230-235.
7. The Home of the Schuylers on the Hudson. Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, 266-271.
8. A Lady's Travel in New England. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, II, 224-229.
9. A Story of Travel in New York. Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, 74-86.
10. Schools and School Life. Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days* 63-89.

11. Sunday in the Colonies. Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days*, 364-387.

12. An Evangelist in Georgia Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, II, 283-287.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Whittier, *Snow Bound*; Longfellow, *Giles Corey of the Salem Farms*.

Stories and Essays: Holland, *The Bay Path*; Dix, *The Making of Christopher Ferringham*; *Mistress Content Cradock*; Bynner, *The Begum's Daughter*; Johnston, *Prisoners of Hope*; Hawthorne, *Twice Told Tales*; *The Scarlet Letter*; Franklin, *Autobiography*; Eggleston, *Our First Century*; Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. To what country or countries in Europe can you trace your own ancestry? What European peoples are represented in your school? What is the origin of the name of your home town?

2. Why are people less superstitious now than they were in colonial times? Why have we stopped using the stocks and the whipping post in punishing people convicted of crime? Why should wrongdoers be punished at all?

3. In what ways has the physical geography of your neighborhood influenced the life of its people? What trees are found in your vicinity? What geographical facts determined the location of Boston? Of New York? Of Philadelphia? Of Baltimore? Of Charleston?

4. How many inches of rain fall in a year in your neighborhood? What crops are most profitably grown where you live? What effect does our daily work have upon us?

5. What foods that we commonly use were unknown to the colonists? Contrast your own life with that of a colonial boy or girl from the standpoints of conveniences in the house, clothing, amusements, travel, education, and religion.

CHAPTER V

THE RIVALRY OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN AMERICA

The Beginnings of New France.—Three great nations, Spain, France, and England, each claimed that part of North America now occupied by the United States. After the daring sailors of Queen Elizabeth had defeated the Spanish Armada and broken the sea power of Spain, it was no longer possible for the Spaniards to make good their claim. But France and England continued to be rivals for the heart of the American continent throughout the entire colonial period of our history. We must now turn to the story of their rivalry.

Rival claims
in America

As early as 1524 Verrazano, an Italian sailor in the French service, while seeking a western waterway to China saw the American coast and entered New York harbor. Ten years later Jacques Cartier, a hardy French mariner, boldly crossed the Atlantic in a little ship of sixty tons and discovered the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Returning the next year Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence River as far as the present site of Montreal. Other Frenchmen came to this northern region to fish or to trade for furs, but no permanent French settlement was made in it until the dawn of the seventeenth century. The work of the early French explorers is important because France based her claim to America upon it.

Samuel de Champlain was the real founder of New France.

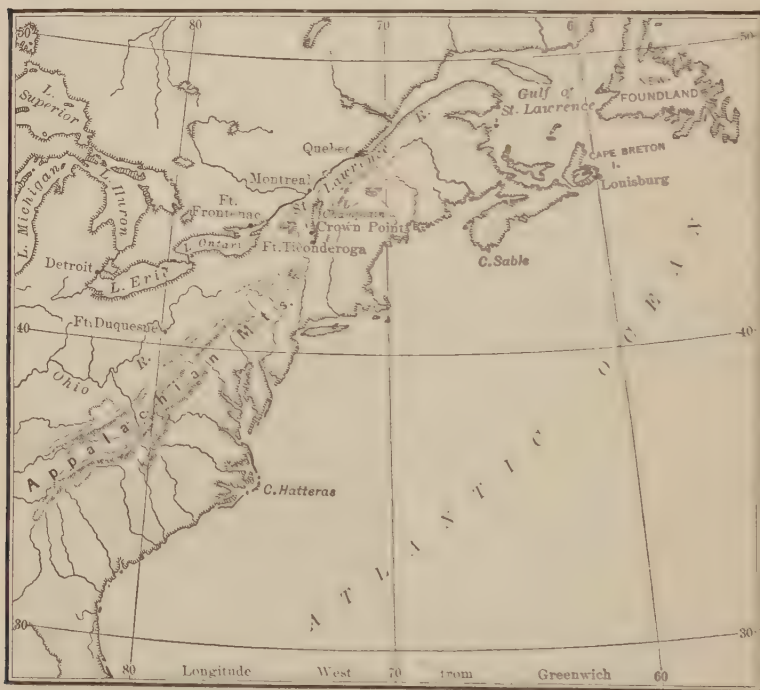


Early
French
explorers

Cartier Takes Possession of the Gaspé Coast

Champlain at Quebec

After fighting in the armies of King Henry the Fourth, Champlain visited Spanish America where he suggested the plan of a ship canal across the isthmus of Panama. In 1604 he helped to plant the first permanent French settlement in America at Port Royal in Acadia, now Nova Scotia. In 1608, at the foot of the frowning cliff of Quebec, he founded the city which was



Outline Map of Eastern North America

destined to be the capital of New France. Champlain began his first winter at Quebec with twenty-eight men, and in the spring only eight of them were left alive; yet no thought of giving up entered the mind of this resolute man.

In the summer of 1609 Champlain went, with a war party of Algonquin Indians, to attack their hereditary enemies, the Iroquois, who lived in the present state of New York. He did this because he wanted to win the friendship of the Indians

The enmity
of the
Iroquois

in Canada and at the same time to explore the country. During this expedition Champlain discovered the beautiful lake which now bears his name; and on its shores he easily defeated a war band of the Iroquois, who were frightened by the Frenchmen's guns, for they had never heard firearms before. This little battle had far-reaching consequences. It made the Iroquois the relentless enemies of the French colonists in Canada, many of whom perished under the tomahawks of these fiercest of red men. Because of this enmity of the Iroquois, the French were unable to penetrate the region where they lived and pushed westward instead in the direction of the Great Lakes.

Ever restless and active, Champlain was foremost in the work of exploring the interior of the country. Four years after he discovered Lake Champlain he led an exploring party up the Ottawa River. Day after day these intrepid Frenchmen, with their Indian friends, paddled their birch-bark canoes up the stream or carried them around the numerous rapids in the river. From its headwaters they crossed to a westward-flowing stream and at last stood upon the shores of Lake Huron, the first of the Great Lakes to be seen by a European.

✓
Champlain
explores the
interior



Samuel de Champlain

For more than a quarter of a century Champlain was the soul of New France. He toiled without ceasing to strengthen the little colony, to bring over more settlers from France, to win the friendship of the Canadian Indians, and to defend his people against the savage Iroquois. When he died in 1635 the French settlement on the St. Lawrence, though still small and weak, was firmly established.

Success at
last

A variety of motives led the French to colonize Canada. The hope of finding gold and silver was uppermost in the minds of many. The rich fur trade enlisted the interest of the merchants. The love of adventure and of the wild, free life of the forest made its appeal to a host of gallant spirits. The king encouraged the movement because it promised to enlarge

The motives
of the French

the territories of France, and the church sent the Jesuits to convert the Indians to the Christian faith.

Missionaries and fur traders + **The French in the Mississippi Valley.**—In their zeal to bring the Indians into the Christian fold the Jesuit missionaries pushed far into the interior of the continent. The Jesuits suffered every hardship, and not a few of them met death at the hands of the Indians. But not even fear of the awful torture which the red men inflicted upon their victims could turn these heroic priests from their purpose. Hardly less daring were the French fur traders who wandered far and wide in search of the rich peltries for which they exchanged beads and trinkets, hatchets, firearms, and brandy—the “fire-water” which made the Indian more savage than he was by nature. Before the seventeenth century drew to a close there were mission stations and trading posts on the straits of Mackinac, at Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay, and other places on the Great Lakes.

Marquette's expedition + Very early the Frenchmen who visited the region of the Great Lakes heard of a great river farther west. At last Father Marquette resolved to find it. In the spring of 1673 he started from the mission station on the straits of Mackinac with Joliet, a French explorer, and five other men. In two birch-bark canoes they made their way to the head of Green Bay and thence up the Fox River to its source. Guided by the Indians, they then crossed to the Wisconsin River and launched their canoes upon its waters. Our greatest American historian, Francis Parkman, helps us to travel in imagination with Marquette and his men down the Wisconsin.

“They glided calmly down the tranquil stream, by islands choked with trees and matted with entangling grape-vines; by forests, groves and prairies, the parks and pleasure-grounds of a prodigal nature; by thickets and marshes and broad, bare sand bars; under the shadowing trees, between whose tops looked down from afar the bold brow of some woody bluff. At night, the bivouac—the canoes inverted on the bank, the flickering fire, the meal of bison flesh or venison, the evening pipes, and slumber beneath the stars; and when in the morning they embarked again, the mist hung on the river like a bridal veil, then melted before the sun, till the glassy water and the languid woods basked breathless in the sultry glow.”

At last "with a joy," writes Marquette, "which I cannot express," they found the great river which they sought. For two weeks the current of the Mississippi bore the explorers southward until they came to a village of the Illinois Indians who feasted them with porridge, fish, dog's flesh, and fat buffalo-meat. Resuming their journey they floated with the stream, day after day, past the mouths of the Illinois, the Missouri, and the Ohio, until they reached the Arkansas River. Marquette and Joliet were now satisfied that the Mississippi flows into the Gulf of Mexico, and decided to return to Canada and report what they had seen. Accordingly, they slowly retraced their course until they came to the Illinois River, ascended that stream, made their way to Lake Michigan and finally reached Green Bay in safety.

Exploring the
Mississippi

While Joliet went to Quebec to report, Marquette remained at Green Bay. He was very much broken in health, but the following year he returned as he had promised to establish a mission among the Illinois Indians. But the work of the unselfish and fearless Jesuit was over. Marquette died the next spring, while on his way to his own mission at St. Ignace on the straits of Mackinac, and was buried by the shores of Lake Michigan.

Death of
Marquette

The work of exploring the Mississippi River, begun by Marquette, was continued by La Salle, the young Frenchman who had already discovered the Ohio. It would have been hard to find a better man for the great and dangerous task. La Salle had a frame of iron which could endure the terrible exposure and privation of life in the wilderness. He was fertile in plans, bold and energetic in action, and inflexible in purpose. His was an unconquerable soul. His penetrating mind foresaw the greatness of the Mississippi Valley, and it was his ambition to win it all for France.

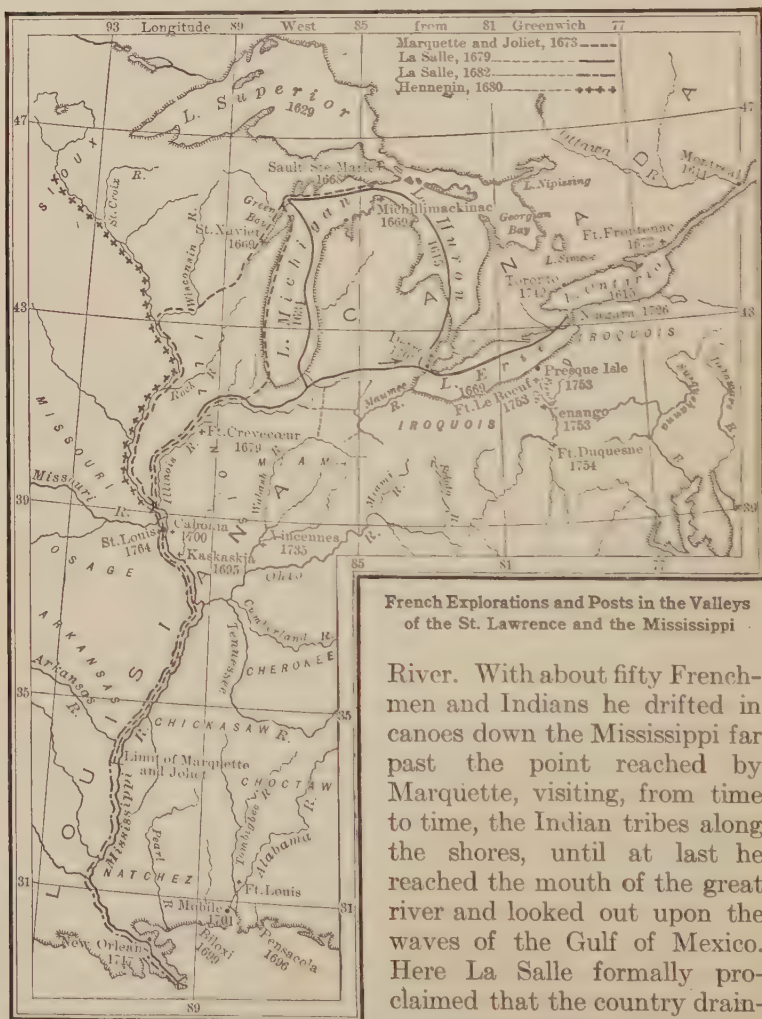
La Salle X

La Salle began his work by building a vessel upon the bank of the Niagara River above the falls. In this ship, the *Griffin*, the first that ever sailed upon the Great Lakes, he went to Green Bay. From this point the *Griffin*, laden with furs, began her return voyage but was never seen again. La Salle, with his men, went on to the Illinois River where he built a fort. The loss of the *Griffin* and of the supplies, which she was expected to bring, made it necessary for La Salle to return to Canada

Loss of the
Griffin

which he reached after an overland journey of great hardship. La Salle soon returned to the land of the Illinois, and early in 1682 he carried out his great plan of exploring the Mississippi

La Salle
claims the
Mississippi
Valley for
France



French Explorations and Posts in the Valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi

River. With about fifty Frenchmen and Indians he drifted in canoes down the Mississippi far past the point reached by Marquette, visiting, from time to time, the Indian tribes along the shores, until at last he reached the mouth of the great river and looked out upon the waves of the Gulf of Mexico. Here La Salle formally proclaimed that the country drained by the Mississippi and all its

tributaries belonged to the king of France.

La Salle named the new domain of France Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV. The Louisiana of La Salle, however, included not merely our state of that name but all the land between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains, from the sources of the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico. **Louisiana**

La Salle next planned to plant a French colony in Louisiana near the mouth of the Mississippi. With this end in view he returned to France and, in 1684, sailed for the Gulf of Mexico with a company of settlers. He failed to find the mouth of the Mississippi and finally landed on the coast of Texas. Disease and quarrels among the men brought the colony to ruin, and at last La Salle was shot by one of his own men. **The fate of La Salle**

The failure of La Salle did not prevent the French from occupying the country about the mouth of the Mississippi. Some years after his death a little settlement was made on the coast and, in 1718, New Orleans was founded and became the capital of Louisiana. The French colony of Louisiana grew very slowly and had only a few thousand inhabitants at the close of the colonial period. **New Orleans founded**

By 1750 the French had made many settlements on the banks of the St. Lawrence and had planted the little colony of Louisiana on the lower Mississippi. Jesuit missionaries, roving fur traders, and far-sighted explorers had given France a claim to the vast region drained by the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. But this region from Quebec and Montreal to New Orleans, was still a wilderness inhabited by savage Indians and only dotted here and there with French trading posts and mission stations. **The work of the French**

The English and French Colonies Contrasted.—There were many differences between the English colonists scattered along the Atlantic seaboard from New Hampshire to Georgia and the French settlers on the St. Lawrence. They were unlike in their ways of making a living, in their treatment of the Indians, in their social life, and in their forms of government. No less striking was the contrast between them in language, in religion, and in their relation to their mother countries. **English and French colonists differed widely**

The English colonists were far more numerous than the French. In 1750 there were almost twenty times as many people in the English colonies as in all New France. **The In occupation**

English colonists were nearly all farmers. The French cultivated a little land in Canada, but they were more interested in traffic with the Indians. Many of them were fur traders, trappers, hunters, boatmen, and wood runners, as those who lived a roving life in the forest were called. Both nations had extensive fisheries.

The English disliked and despised the Indians and, in the end, either drove them away or killed them. The French made friends with the red men, lived among them, and sometimes intermarried with them. This difference in their treatment of the Indians was due in part to the differing interests of the two groups of colonists. The English cleared the land, built homes, and rapidly increased in numbers. The uncivilized Indians, like the wild animals, were naturally swept away by this growth of civilized life in America. On the other hand, the French, few in number and widely scattered over a vast domain, wished to preserve alike the fur-bearing animals and the Indian trappers with whom they carried on a profitable trade. Too often, instead of civilizing the Indians, the French woodmen and trappers became almost as barbarous as their red neighbors.

In the English colonies nearly every man owned his farm, managed it as he pleased, and enjoyed all the fruits of his labor. In Canada the land along the river and lake fronts where most of the people lived was given in great tracts to landlords, who were of higher rank than the rest of the settlers. These landlords gave out strips of land to the actual farmers, who paid them a small rent for it. In addition to this rent each farmer was expected to have his grain ground in his landlord's grist mill, to do several days' labor for the landlord each year, and to give him one fish in every eleven he caught. In a word, the English colonist was a free man, while the French Canadian of colonial days was a peasant, subject to many of the vexatious feudal customs that had existed in France ever since the Middle Ages.

In every one of the English colonies the people were represented in the government and were free to manage their local affairs as they chose. Such freedom was unknown in New France. There the government was entirely in the hands of a governor and other agents appointed by the French king. The people had no voice even in local matters. Their ruler

In their
relations
with the
Indians

In social
life

In govern-
ment

sent from France not only levied their taxes, controlled their trade, and excluded from the country all who were not Catholics in religion, but even told them "what tools to use, what seeds to plant, at what age to marry, and how large families to bring up." The English colonists were learning the lessons of democracy. The French were still under the iron heel of despotism.

Such were the rivals for the control of North America. The English colonists were mainly Protestant in religion and possessed a large measure of democratic government. The men of New France, on the other hand, spoke the language of their fatherland, were members of the Catholic church, had no experience in self-government, and were the subjects of a despot. While the English far outnumbered the French they were divided into thirteen colonies which could rarely act together. The French were united under the control of one governor and could count on the help of their Indian allies. Both sides were equal in bravery and hardihood. The victory in the struggle between them, which was sure to come, would determine the destiny of America

A striking contrast

A Half Century of Conflict.—In 1689, shortly after the English Revolution of 1688 put William and Mary upon the throne of England, war broke out between that country and France. Between 1689 and 1763, four great wars were waged between England and France. The first three of these contests, King William's War, 1689-1697, Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713, and King George's War, 1744-1748, began in Europe over European questions. The English and French colonists in America fought each other in these wars, not so much because of any real dispute between them, as because their mother countries were enemies. Yet throughout this half-century and more of warfare they were steadily becoming more and more conscious of their conflicting interests in the New World. The fourth and last intercolonial war began in America, as we shall see, and was the direct outcome of the rivalry between England and France for the control of this continent.

Early inter-colonial wars

The French were the aggressors in all the earlier intercolonial wars. War parties of Indians, with a few French leaders, made their way across the wide belt of forest and mountain which lay between the English and French colonies

Border warfare

and attacked the frontier settlements in New England and New York. Houses were burned, and men, women, and children were killed and scalped or carried away captive by the Indians. The story of the French and Indian attack upon Deerfield, Massachusetts, in 1704, will help us to realize what this border warfare was like.



Indians Attacking Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1704

The story
of Deerfield

Deerfield was a typical New England frontier village not far from the Connecticut River. Fifteen houses in the middle of the town were enclosed by a palisade, a sort of picket fence of logs. There were many scattered houses on the little farms outside this enclosure, but most of the people had taken refuge within the palisaded village for the Indians were known to be on the warpath. It was in February and the snow lay deep upon the ground. In one place it was drifted nearly to the top of the palisade. Sentinels were posted inside the enclosure, but they sometimes grew careless during the long, frosty nights,

and it is said that on the morning of the attack they were asleep.

Two miles away in the wintry forest lay a half-frozen, starving band of some two hundred Indians and about fifty Frenchmen who had made the long march from Canada on their snowshoes. In spite of the cold they waited patiently until the darkest hour just before the dawn, then crept noiselessly up to the village and over the palisade, and raised the war-whoop inside the enclosure before they were discovered. Then they attacked the doors of the houses with their axes and hatchets. Mr. Williams, the minister of Deerfield, was awakened by the outcry just in time to see the Indians breaking through the shattered door of his home. The savages killed two of his children and made prisoners of Williams, his wife, and his remaining children. The people in most of the other houses met a similar fate. Some scalps were taken, but more of the people were captured alive because the French paid more for prisoners than they did for scalps. In a few instances, as at the house of Mr. Stebbins, the minister's neighbor, the inmates succeeded in beating off the Indians and were not taken. Many of the captured houses were set on fire.

**The attack
on the village**

At daybreak the men in the neighboring villages saw the fire and came to the rescue. The Indians had already collected their prisoners and begun to drive them toward the forest. The rescuers chased the remaining Indians out of Deerfield and killed several of them but were unable to retake the prisoners. The Indians now started with their captives on the long, awful winter march to Canada. The women and children who could not keep up were tomahawked, scalped, and left by the wayside. Some of the prisoners starved to death, some of the children were adopted by the Indians, but most of the captives were finally exchanged or ransomed and returned to New England. The fate of Deerfield was very much like that of many other frontier settlements in New England and New York during this half century of border warfare.

**The fate of
the prisoners**

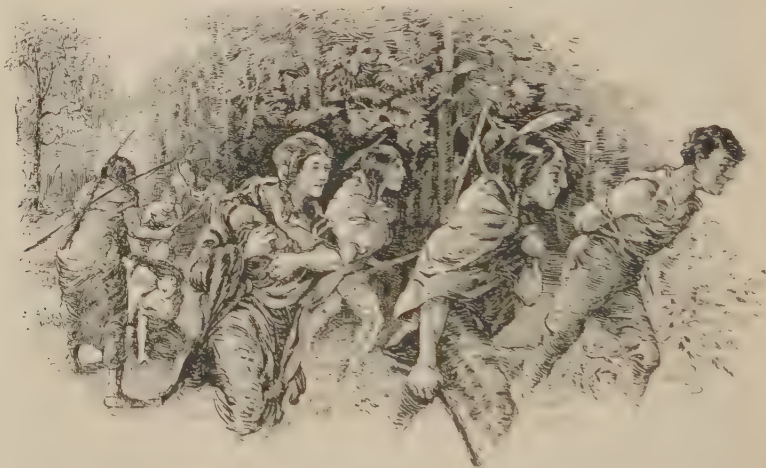
The English colonists did what they could to defend themselves against these barbarous attacks by building frontier forts in which they could take refuge and by watching constantly for the Indian war parties. But they soon realized that their best defense was to carry the war into the enemy's

**The English
defense**

country. The Indians were instigated to go on the warpath against the English by the French at Port Royal and Quebec, and to these places they returned to collect the reward offered for the scalps and prisoners they took. If these centers of French influence could be taken by the English, the French power in America would be broken.

The French
strongholds

Accordingly, we find the English sending expeditions, usually by sea, against these French strongholds. In King William's War the English captured Port Royal but failed in their effort against Quebec, and at the close of this war Port



White Captives Driven to Canada by the Indians

Royal was restored to France. In Queen Anne's War the English took Port Royal a second time and kept it, but again failed utterly in their expedition against Quebec. After they lost Port Royal, the French built a strong fortress on Cape Breton Island, at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and named it Louisburg for the king of France. In King George's War the New England colonists, with the aid of the English fleet, captured Louisburg, but unfortunately England restored it to France in the treaty of peace which ended the war.

The Peace of
Utrecht

Queen Anne's War was the only intercolonial war before 1750 which brought about a definite result. By the im-

portant treaty of Utrecht, which closed it in 1713, France agreed that Acadia, Newfoundland, and the rich fur-bearing region on the shores of Hudson Bay should belong to England. The English changed the name Acadia to Nova Scotia, and later founded Halifax which became the chief city of this province.

The French and Indian War.—By 1750 the English colonists on the Atlantic seaboard had occupied most of the good land between the coast and the mountains. Hunters and fur traders were finding their way through the gaps in the Alleghanies and bringing back glowing reports of the fine country beyond the mountains. The colonies claimed this western land and began to plan to possess it. When the French heard of these plans they were alarmed, for they also claimed that all the country west of the mountains belonged to them. Then the French promptly took steps to exclude the English settlers from the disputed territory, and war between the two nations was inevitable. Unlike the earlier inter-colonial wars, the French and Indian War, began in America, although, sooner or later, most of the nations of Europe were drawn into it.

Its cause

The physical geography of North America had a great influence upon the history of the French and Indian War. The Appalachian mountain system lay like a great barrier between the English colonies and New France. The English must cross this barrier if they were to win the land they coveted. But there were only a few places where it was easy to cross the mountain system which extends from Canada to Georgia. If the French could hold these natural gateways, they could shut out English settlement from the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. If the English could secure them, nothing would stop their swarming pioneers from winning the West.

Geographic influences in this war

Let us look for these important gateways. The St. Lawrence River was the great highway leading to the heart of Canada. This highway was closed to the English by the strongly fortified naval station at Louisburg, at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and by the frowning fortress which crowned the cliff at Quebec. Canada could be invaded from New England and New York by way of the Hudson River. Lake George, and Lake Champlain, or by going up the Mohawk

The gateways of the interior

Valley and across Lake Ontario. The French forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point guarded the Lake Champlain route. A fort on the Mohawk River would have closed the other road, but the French could not build there on account of the hostility of the Iroquois. They sought, therefore, to control this part of the country by building Fort Niagara at the mouth of the Niagara River and Fort Frontenac near the outlet of Lake Ontario.

The forks of
the Ohio

The important road into the West for the people of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia led up the Potomac to where



A Friendly Indian Running to Warn the
Settlers of an Attack

Cumberland now stands, thence across the mountains to the Monongahela River, and down that stream to where it joins the Allegheny to form the Ohio. If the French could control this point, they could shut English settlers out of the Ohio valley. Virginia claimed the Ohio valley, and when Governor Dinwiddie of that colony heard that the French were building forts on the

Allegheny River, he sent George Washington, then only twenty-one years of age, to warn them that they were trespassing on English soil. The French paid no attention to this warning, and when the Virginians began to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio, the French drove them away, completed the fort, and named it Fort Duquesne. The French were now in possession of all the important points which controlled the roads into the disputed territory. If they could hold these points, they would win the war which was just beginning.

Three years
of English
failure

The history of the French and Indian War is the story of a series of English attacks upon the French strongholds whose location and purpose we have just noted. For the first three years of the war, the English failed in almost everything they undertook. There were two reasons for this lack of success.

In the first place, it was difficult to get the colonies to act together. A congress held at Albany in 1754 to treat with the Indians and to plan for united action accomplished little. At this congress Benjamin Franklin proposed a plan for uniting all the colonies under one government, but his plan of union pleased neither the king, who thought it gave the colonies too much power, nor the colonists, who feared that it left the king too much authority. In the second place, the English



From an old print.

Braddock, Dying, Borne from the Field Near Fort Duquesne

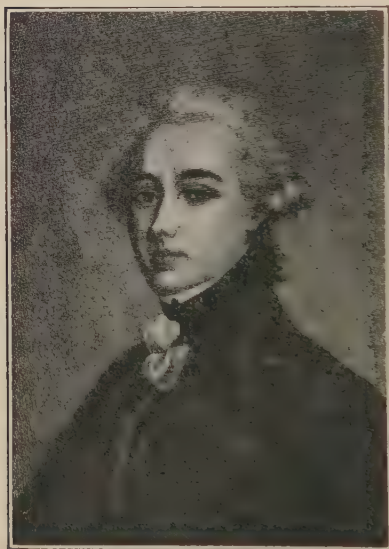
government was very badly managed at this time, and unfit men were sent to lead the English forces in America.

The French and Indian War opened in 1754 when Washington built Fort Necessity in western Pennsylvania. Here he was attacked by the French and forced to surrender the fort. The following year General Braddock was sent, with two regiments of British regulars and some colonial militia, to capture Fort Duquesne and drive the French away from the forks of the Ohio. Braddock advanced from the Potomac, cutting a road through the mountain wilderness. When within a few miles of Fort Duquesne he was attacked by the French

**Braddock's
expedition**

and Indians who were concealed in the woods. Braddock knew nothing of forest warfare and refused to learn from the colonial troops whom he despised. He kept his men in line in the open, where they were shot down in great numbers by the unseen foe. Braddock was mortally wounded, and the remnant of his army was saved from utter destruction only by the courage and good sense of Washington and the colonial militia who fought the Indians in their own way.

French
victories



General James Wolfe

The spirit of
William Pitt

ture, came into power in England. Pitt was a great orator and an able, honest man, full of energy and confidence. He quickly infused his own high spirit into the management of affairs in England, and sent three capable generals, Forbes, Amherst, and Wolfe, to lead the English armies in America. From this time the English were everywhere successful. In 1758 Forbes took Fort Duquesne, which was renamed Fort Pitt in honor of the great leader in England. In the course of time the city of Pittsburgh grew up about it. The year that Fort Duquesne was taken, Fort Frontenac also fell into the hands of the English, and Amherst and Wolfe captured Louisburg.

Braddock's defeat was not the only disaster of the opening years of the war. English expeditions against Fort Niagara and Louisburg met with no better success, while the French under their great leader, Montcalm, captured the English outpost at Oswego on Lake Ontario, and Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George. These early French successes brought all the horrors of Indian warfare upon the border settlements from New York to the Carolinas.

In 1757 William Pitt, the greatest English statesman of the eighteenth cen-

The year 1759 saw the triumph of England. Fort Niagara was easily taken, Amherst captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and Wolfe led a great expedition against Quebec, the last important stronghold of the French. Wolfe's task was most difficult. Quebec stands upon a high, steep bluff overlooking the St. Lawrence River. It was strongly fortified and was commanded by Montcalm, a very able and cautious general. Wolfe spent the summer in looking for a weak point in Montcalm's defenses, but found none.

The siege of Quebec

The approach of winter would make it necessary for Wolfe to abandon the siege of Quebec before his ships were frozen in the river. The heroic general resolved to make one more attempt to capture the town. On the night of the 12th of September he ordered some of his men into boats above Quebec and dropped quietly down stream to a little bay, since known as Wolfe's Cove. Landing at this point, his men climbed the steep cliff and killed or drove away the guard at the top. All night long the boats were bringing more men to the foot of this path up the cliff, and when day dawned the British army stood in red-coated array upon the Plains of Abraham, above Quebec. If these were not driven away, the soldiers in the great French stronghold would soon be starved out.

The Plains of Abraham

The surprised Montcalm saw the danger and promptly led his troops against the English lines. His attack failed, and the French were soon driven behind the walls of the town. Wolfe and Montcalm were both mortally wounded. As Wolfe lay dying upon the field he was told that the French were running. "Now, God be praised," he murmured, "I will die in peace." Montcalm was carried back into the city, and when told that he had only a few hours left to live he replied, "So much the better. I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." In the governor's garden to-day at Quebec there stands a monument dedicated to these two heroic leaders. Inscribed upon it in Latin are these beautiful words: "Valor gave them a common death, history a common fame, and posterity a common monument."

Wolfe and Montcalm

The battle upon the Plains of Abraham was the decisive event in the long struggle between England and France for empire in America. Four days after the battle, Quebec sur-

The fall of New France

rendered to the English, and the following year they occupied Montreal and the remaining French forts. The war was over in America, although fighting between England and France went on elsewhere for two or three years longer.

A new map
of North
America

✱ **The Treaty of Paris.**—The Treaty of Paris closed the French and Indian War in 1763. By this treaty, France withdrew from the North American continent. She gave to England all her territory east of the Mississippi River, except New



North America Before and After the French and Indian War

Orleans. That city and all the French lands west of the Mississippi were ceded to Spain. During the war, Spain had fought on the side of France, and the English had taken Havana and Manila from her. In her desire to recover these colonial cities, Spain now gave Florida to England in exchange for them.

The French and Indian War is an important landmark in the history of America. It ended the long rivalry between England and France for the control of the great valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. It gave the heart of the continent to men of the English-speaking race. It insured the spread of English ideas of freedom, self-government, and religious liberty throughout the United States.

This war
made our
country
English

Scarcely less important were the immediate effects of this war upon the English colonists in America. With the removal of the danger of French and Indian attack on the frontier, they could cross the mountains in safety and begin the settlement of the West. They felt less dependent upon England than ever before. They no longer needed her help against New France, and they had learned in the hard school of war to act together. They were growing conscious of their own strength and of their own fighting qualities.

It led the way to the Revolution

England won a vast empire in the French and Indian War. In trying to govern this new empire she did many things which first irritated and then alienated her American colonies. The French and Indian War hastened the coming of the Revolution and helped to train leaders like Washington, who were to fight the battles of the War for Independence.

REFERENCES.

Parkman, *The Pioneers of France in the New World*; *The Jesuits in North America*; *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*; *The Old Régime in Canada*; *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*; *A Half Century of Conflict*; *Montcalm and Wolfe*; *Thwaites, France in America*; *Fiske, New France and New England*; *Sloane, The French War and the Revolution*; *Finley, The French in the Heart of America*; *Channing, History of the United States*, Vol. II; *Semple, American History and Its Geographic Conditions*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Founding of Quebec. Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, 324-338.
2. How Champlain Incurred the Hatred of the Iroquois. Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, 339-352.
3. The Story of Marquette. Parkman, *La Salle*, 48-71.
4. An Adventure of La Salle. Parkman, *La Salle*, 175-187.
5. The Death of La Salle. Parkman, *La Salle*, 396-408.
6. A Heroic Jesuit. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, 211-239.
7. The Story of Deerfield. Parkman, *A Half Century of Conflict*, I, 52-89.
8. The Beginnings of Louisiana. Parkman, *A Half Century of Conflict*, I, 288-314.
9. Braddock's Defeat. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 187-233.
10. The Removal of the Acadians. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 234-284.

11. The Capture of Louisburg. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II, 52-81.
12. The Battle of Quebec. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II, 259-297.
13. The People of New France. Thwaites, *The French in America*, 124-142.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Whittier, *St. John*; *Pentucket*; Thomas Dunn English, *The Sack of Deerfield*; Longfellow, *A Ballad of the French Fleet*; *Evangeline*; Plimpton, *Fort Duquesne*.

Novels: Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*; *The Pathfinder*; Doyle, *The Refugees*; Parker, *The Seats of the Mighty*; Catherwood, *The Lady of Fort St. John*; *The Romance of Dollard*; *Heroes of the Middle West*; *The Story of Tonty*; King, *Monsieur Motte*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. How is a birch-bark canoe made? What is meant by a "portage"?
2. Draw a map of the Great Lakes. What are the names of the bodies of water that connect them?
3. Contrast the motives of the French and English colonists in America.
4. Trace on a map the route of Marquette; the travels of La Salle.
5. What wars in Europe correspond to the first three intercolonial wars in America? In what way did the French and Indian War differ from all the earlier intercolonial wars?
6. Explain how the physical geography of North America influenced the history of the French and Indian War. Locate upon the map the important places in this war.
7. Why did the English fail in the earlier part of the French and Indian War? Why did they succeed in the later part?
8. Show on the map the changes in territory brought about by the French and Indian War. How did this war prepare the way for the Revolution?

CHAPTER VI

THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

The True Character of the American Revolution.—Long before America was discovered, the English people were fighting to guard their freedom against the tyranny of kings and nobles.

In 1215 the barons of England forced the wicked King John to sign the Great Charter, in which he promised to recognize and protect the rights of his people.

Within a hundred years after the Great Charter was signed, the people of England won the right to be represented in the Parliament, or lawmaking body of the realm. We have already seen how the English Parliament resisted the tyranny of Charles I and put him to death, and how the leaders of the people drove James II from the throne in the Revolution of 1688. That Revolution made Parlia-

ment the supreme authority in England, but it was a Parlia-

ment controlled by the nobles and the rich. The common people of the land had little voice in it. The struggle to make the English government truly democratic was yet to come, and the Revolution, in which the English colonists in America won their independence from their mother country, was the first great battle in that contest. The best men in England saw this clearly at that time, and all Englishmen admit it now. Some years ago the British Ambassador to our country said: "Englishmen now recognize that in the Revolution you were fighting their battles."

The long
struggle for
English
liberty



King John Signing the Great Charter to Which
We Owe Many of Our Rights

Free men
found
greater
freedom in
the colonies

It was natural that English-speaking men should win the right of complete self-government first in America. The English Puritans and Quakers, and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who came to the New World in such large numbers during the colonial period, were the most democratic people of their time. They left behind them many of the aristocratic notions and customs which had existed in the mother country for centuries. The dangers and the hardships of life in a new country had helped to make all the colonists bold, hardy, and self-reliant. They had found in their new homes far more freedom to speak and to act as they pleased than their ancestors had ever known in the Old World. The colonists had learned to love this new freedom, and they were quick to resent every effort to take it from them.

Training in
self-
government

During the later colonial period there had been a great deal of strife between the colonists and the governors sent from England to rule them. Though many of these quarrels between the governors and the people were over petty or local questions, they were important in teaching the people to know their rights and in giving them courage to maintain them. Sometimes laws passed by the legislatures of the colonies were set aside by the authorities in England because they were thought to be unwise or contrary to the interests of the mother country. This practice displeased the colonists, who thought that they knew best what laws they needed. But most of all, the people of the colonies resented the Navigation Acts which, as we have seen, were intended to make them buy all their imported goods in England and sell most of their exports to that country.

Attachment
to England

But in spite of the long-standing dissatisfaction over these matters, the American colonists were strongly attached to their mother country in 1763. They rejoiced in the British success in the French and Indian War—a success which they had helped to win—because it ended the old danger of French and Indian attack from Canada and opened the way for settlements beyond the Alleghany Mountains. The colonists loved the manners, the customs, and even the fashions of England. No one thought of independence. Benjamin Franklin, the greatest American of the later colonial days, said that he had never heard from any person drunk or sober the least expression of a wish for separation. Yet only twelve years after the

signing of the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, the colonists were in open rebellion against the British government. We must now trace, step by step, the history of the quarrel with the mother country which resulted in the establishment of the independence of the United States.

A New British Policy in America.—As we saw at the close of the last chapter, England had acquired a vast empire during the French and Indian War. While Pitt and his generals, Amherst and Wolfe, were winning North America from France, another great Englishman, Robert Clive, was laying the foundations of British power in India.

**The British
empire**

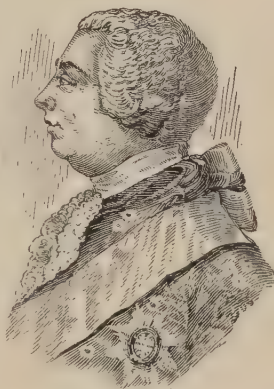
When peace was proclaimed in 1763, England was facing the question how to govern this great new empire.

The government of England at this time was unfit to undertake so difficult a task. For fifty years the kings of England had possessed very little actual authority. The real power, as we have said, was vested in Parliament, which consisted of a House of Lords, most of whose members were hereditary, and an elected House of Commons. But the House of Commons did not truly represent the people of England. Many small and insignificant

towns were represented in it because they had long before been given the right to send members to parliament while large and thriving cities of recent growth sent no members at all. The masses of the English people did not even have the right to vote. The great noblemen and the rich merchants who controlled Parliament really governed the country.

In 1760, George III came to the throne of England. In his boyhood his mother had often said to him, "George, be king," and he began his reign with the determination to win back the power which the recent kings had lost. Few kings of England have been less fit to be entrusted with power. George III was ignorant, narrow-minded, and obstinate. He was jealous of men of ability, like Pitt, and appointed his

**The English
government**



King George III
The King who lost America.

George III

ministers from among those who would do his bidding in all things. He bribed the corrupt Parliament to support his plans. It was mainly his fault that England lost her American colonies. John Richard Green, one of the greatest of English historians, declares, "the shame of the darkest hour of England's history lies wholly at his door."

Efforts to
enforce the
Navigation
Acts

In 1763, George III made George Grenville his prime minister. Grenville knew that the colonists had refused to obey the Navigation Acts, and he resolved to enforce these laws to the letter regardless of the consequences. In carrying out his purpose, the courts issued Writs of Assistance, which were general search warrants authorizing the officers of the law to search the homes of the colonists for goods upon which the duties had not been paid. The colonists thought that these writs were illegal. At the same time, ships of the navy were stationed off the coast of America to prevent smuggling. This effort to enforce the Navigation Acts severely injured the commerce of New England and stirred up a bitter feeling in that section against the British government.

A standing
army in
America

The maintenance of a standing army in the colonies was another feature of the new British policy in America. It was said that British troops were needed in America to guard the frontier from Indian attacks and to defend the colonies against foreign invasion. But the Americans felt that they were quite able to take care of themselves if they were attacked by the Indians. They feared that the British soldiers sent among them might be used to keep them in subjection to the power of England.

Taxation
without
representa-
tion

In the third place, Grenville proposed that Parliament should levy a tax upon the Americans to help pay the expense of keeping a standing army in their midst. From the English standpoint it was reasonable that the colonists should contribute toward their own defense. While the colonists did not want British troops in America at all, they particularly objected to paying a tax laid upon them by Parliament because they believed that they were not represented in that body. On this point there was a difference of opinion between the people in England and the colonists. The English said that the members of the House of Commons represented all the inhabitants of the British Empire, the colonists included. The colonists had

long been accustomed to elect men in their various towns or counties to represent them in the colonial legislature which made their laws, and they declared that they were not represented in a distant parliament in which not a single American had a seat, and in the selection of whose members they had no voice. They held that Englishmen everywhere could be taxed only by their representatives and that taxation without representation was tyranny.

The attempt of the British government, during the first fifteen years of the reign of George III, to do these three things which it had never done before in America, namely, to enforce the Navigation Acts, to maintain a standing army in the colonies, and to tax the American colonists to help pay for the army, was the direct cause of the Revolution. We must next notice some of the things which were done in carrying out this new policy and note the effect of these acts upon the American people.

The
immediate
cause of the
Revolution

X The Stamp Act.—In 1765, Parliament passed the Stamp Act. This law provided that all legal documents, such as deeds, wills, and licenses, must be written or printed upon stamped paper bought of the British government. Almanacs, newspapers, advertisements, and playing cards were also taxed. The money raised in this way was to be used to help pay the expense of keeping the British troops in America.

The act
passed in
spite of
English
protest

The Stamp Act was passed in spite of the protest of Isaac Barré, a friend of the Americans in Parliament, who called the colonists "those sons of Liberty" and warned the House of Commons that "the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still." Little attention was paid to this warning. No one seemed to have any idea that the stamp taxes would be resisted in America.

The news of the passage of the Stamp Act alarmed the Americans. Protests against it as an act of tyranny were heard from every quarter. The legislature of Virginia declared, "That the General Assembly of this colony have the only and sole exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony." It was in a famous speech in support of this declaration that Patrick Henry said, "Tarquin and Cæsar each had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third —" (at this point the

Alarm in
America

chairman and some of the members shouted, "Treason! Treason!") — "may profit by their example," continued Henry. "If this be treason, make the most of it."

Virginia was not the only colony to protest. There was intense excitement throughout the whole country. The legislatures of several of the other colonies, and meetings of the people in many towns and counties, passed resolutions of remonstrance. Everywhere the newspapers condemned the hated

The Stamp
Act Congress



Patrick Henry Addressing the Virginia Assembly

law. At the suggestion of Massachusetts, nine of the colonies sent representatives to a Stamp Act Congress which met in New York in October, 1765. James Otis of Massachusetts, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, and Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina were leaders of this meeting. The Stamp Act Congress declared that "no taxes can be constitutionally imposed upon the people of the colonies but by their respective legislatures." It also sent an address to the king and petitions to each house of parliament asking for the repeal of the stamp taxes. The Stamp Act Congress helped the colonists to see the need of acting together. Christopher Gadsden said, "There

ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on the continent, but all of us, Americans."

The opposition of the colonists to the stamp taxes was not limited to protests and remonstrances. From New Hampshire to South Carolina there was rioting and mob violence. Everywhere associations, called Sons of Liberty, sprang up. The motto of the members of these associations was "Liberty, Property, and No Stamps," and their purpose was forcible resistance to the Stamp Act. The wrath of the people was especially directed against the men who were appointed to distribute the stamps. Their windows were broken, in some instances their houses were destroyed, and all sorts of insults were offered them. When the stamped paper arrived in America it was seized and destroyed. Before the day came when the hated act was to go into effect, every stamp distributor in the colonies had been forced to resign.

Violent
resistance to
the stamp
taxes

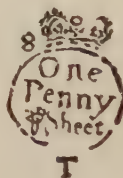
Many of the colonists agreed not to import or to use English goods while the Stamp Act was in force. This action led the merchants in England, who were beginning to suffer financial loss from the falling off of their American trade, to petition Parliament for the repeal of the objectionable law. In the meantime George Grenville had fallen from power and the new English ministry was more favorable to America. Early in 1766, a bill to repeal the Stamp Act was introduced in Parliament. In the great debate which took place on this proposal, Pitt, ever the friend of the colonies, denied the right of Parliament to tax the colonists, and said, "I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." It is probable that a majority of the English people agreed with Pitt in this sentiment. Benjamin Franklin, who was at this time in London as the agent of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, told the House of Commons that the Americans would never obey the Stamp Act and that it ought to be repealed. At last the Parliament followed the advice of Pitt and Franklin and repealed the troublesome law, amid great rejoicing in England and America.

The repeal
of the Stamp
Act

The Second British Attempt to Tax the Colonists.—When Parliament repealed the Stamp Act it declared that it had the

The
Townshend
Acts

power to bind the people of America "in all cases whatsoever." No one paid much attention to this declaration at the time it was made, but the Americans were reminded of it in 1767 when Parliament laid duties on glass, paints, red and white lead, paper, and tea imported into the colonies. The money raised by these taxes was to be used to pay the salaries of the colonial governors and judges. At the same time the obnoxious Writs of Assistance were declared to be legal and men were



The Hated Revenue Stamps

sent to America to look after the enforcement of the Navigation Acts. All these laws are called the Townshend Acts, after Charles Townshend, the English minister who proposed them.

Unrest in the colonies

When news of the passage of the Townshend Acts reached America, the spirit of unrest, which had been quieted by the repeal of the Stamp Act, broke out afresh. Once more the colonists emphatically denied the right of Parliament to tax them without their consent. Moreover, they especially objected to the use which was to be made of the money raised by the new taxes. In their own legislatures the colonists had always voted the salaries of their governors and judges. This gave them some control over those officials. The people felt that if Parliament took this right away from them they would lose that control altogether. But, as they were beginning to realize the danger in rioting and mob violence, they now tried to confine their opposition to the Townshend Acts to mere protests and remonstrances.

Adams and Dickinson

During the years of protest against the Townshend Acts which followed their passage in 1767, Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, and Patrick Henry of Virginia were the foremost champions of American rights. Samuel Adams, an ardent patriot, who was the clerk of the

Great Britain. This letter was approved by the colonies, but it was bitterly resented by the British government. John Dickinson, one of the best men of the time, wrote a series of papers called "The Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer," which had a very great influence upon the opinion of the people. He argued "that we cannot be happy, without being free; that we cannot be free, without being secure in our property; that we cannot be secure in our property, if, without our



British Troops Landing at Boston in 1768

consent, others may, as by right, take it away; that taxes imposed upon us by parliament do thus take it away."

At the height of the discussion over the Townshend Acts Parliament suggested that the American leaders should be brought to England for trial. This suggestion aroused a storm of indignation among the colonists, who declared that the right of a man accused of crime to be tried by a jury from his own vicinity was one of the sacred rights of Englishmen.

Growing
indignation
in America

In the meantime the colonists were everywhere entering into agreements not to import or to use English goods. The vigorous protest from America, the warnings of some of its own members who said, "Unless you repeal this law, you run the risk of losing America," and most of all, perhaps, the petitions of the English merchants who were losing their

Parliament
yields

American trade led Parliament in 1770 to repeal all of the duties imposed in 1767, except the tax on tea. The tea tax was continued in order to establish the principle that Parliament had the right to tax the people of the colonies.

X How Keeping British Troops in America Caused Trouble.
As we have seen, it was a part of the new British policy toward the colonies to keep troops in America after the close of the French and Indian War. The most of these soldiers were

last test.
British
troops in
America



The Boston "Massacre"

stationed in the conquered French province of Canada and at Fort Pitt, Fort Niagara, Detroit and other points on the western frontier. It was expected that their presence at these places would help to protect the border settlements from Indian attacks.

It was not long, however, before the red coats of the British soldiers became a familiar sight upon the streets of the city of New York. The commander-in-chief of the British forces in America early established his headquarters in New York because the physical geography of the country made that

city its natural military center. From New York, troops could easily be sent to Canada, by way of the Hudson River and Lake Champlain, to the western frontier through the Mohawk Valley and along the Great Lakes, and to the West Indies by sea. These were the places where it was thought they were most likely to be needed.

**New York
refuses to
provide for
the troops**

When it was first planned to keep a permanent standing army in America, Parliament required the colony in which troops were stationed to provide barracks for the soldiers, and to supply them with salt, vinegar, rum or beer, and a few other articles. As so many of the troops were in New York, the burden of this expense fell heavily, and as its people thought very unjustly, upon that province, which refused to comply with the law. This action of New York led to a bitter quarrel, lasting several years, between that colony and the British government.

**The Boston
Massacre**

But the most serious collision between the colonists and the British troops occurred in Boston. Two regiments were sent to that city in 1768 to help enforce the Navigation Acts. From the first these soldiers were a constant source of irritation to the people of Boston, who charged them with racing horses on Sunday, just outside the church doors, and with disturbing the quiet of the streets at night with their drunken shouts. The people, on the other hand, constantly annoyed the soldiers by calling them "bloody-backs," "scoundrels in red," and other insulting names. Matters came to a crisis one night in March, 1770, when a crowd of men and boys threw snowballs at a picket guard of eight men and dared them to fire. At last, irritated beyond endurance, the soldiers fired, killing four men and wounding several others, of whom two afterward died.

**Its conse-
quences**

The Boston Massacre, as this affair was called, created intense excitement. The next day a great mass meeting of the citizens of Boston sent a committee to the governor to ask that the troops be removed from the city to an island in the harbor. Samuel Adams, who headed this committee, told the governor "that the voice of three thousand freemen demanded that all soldiery be forthwith removed from the town, and that if he failed to heed their just demand, he did so at his peril." The governor yielded and ordered both regiments to be withdrawn from the city. In due time the soldiers who took part in this

affair were tried by a Boston Court and all of them were found not guilty except two, who were convicted of manslaughter and punished by branding in the hand, the penalty for that crime in those days. The story of the Boston Massacre shows the grave danger of trying to keep troops among a free people who neither need nor want them.

The Quarrel Over the Tea Tax.—When Parliament repealed the taxes on glass, paper, and painter's colors, it retained the duty on tea, in order to establish its right to tax the colonists. This was a great blunder. The Parliament failed to see that the principle of its right to tax them, and not the paltry sum of money which they would have to pay, was the very thing against which the colonists were contending. For the next three years, discussion raged over the hated tea tax, and the longer they talked about it the more exasperated the people became. The newspapers were filled with exhortations like this, by a New Hampshire rhymester:

The hated
tea tax

"Rouse, every generous, thoughtful mind,
The rising danger flee;
If you would lasting freedom find,
Now then, abandon tea!"

Everywhere the people were urged not to buy or sell or drink the "fated plant of India's shore," as another newspaper poet called it. Many agreed not to use it, while others drank tea that was smuggled from Holland.

At last, the British government foolishly tried to bribe the colonists to use the English tea and thus recognize the right of taxation. At this time tea was brought to England by the English East India Company. It was taxed a shilling a pound in England, and if it was sent to the colonies, it had to pay an additional tax of threepence in America. The East India Company had great quantities of tea stored in London, and Parliament now said that such part of this tea as was sent to America need not pay the English tax at all. This would make the tea cheaper in America than it was in England, and the English authorities thought that the colonists would surely be willing to buy it when they could get it at such a bargain. They little understood the spirit of America.

Trying to
bribe the
colonists

Tea sent to
America is
seized or
returned

Several ships laden with tea were now sent to the colonies. At Charleston, South Carolina, the tea was landed, but no one would buy it and it was stored in cellars; later, after the war began, it was sold for the benefit of the Revolutionary government. A meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia voted that every person who favored unloading, selling, or receiving the tea was an enemy to his country. In both Philadelphia and New York, the tea was sent back to England.



Faneuil Hall

Called "the Cradle of American Liberty." "The Sons of Liberty," often "rocked the Cradle" in their wrath against unjust King George III and his Ministers.

The Boston
Tea Party

When the tea ships came to Boston the people, led by Samuel Adams, refused to permit the tea to be landed. When it was seen that the governor would not permit the tea to be sent back to England, the people thought that the officers intended to try to land it in Boston by force. Accordingly, a party of about fifty men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, went on board the ships one evening in December, 1773, and threw the tea into the sea. The Boston Tea Party, as this action was called, was not the act of an excited mob, but a carefully planned and deliberate defiance of the authority of England.

Parliament Punishes Boston and Massachusetts.—The news of the Boston Tea Party aroused great indignation in England. Even the friends of America condemned it, and the leading members of Parliament denounced it in the harshest terms. It was the general opinion in that body that Boston must be forced to submit, and one member went so far as to say, "The town of Boston ought to be knocked about their ears and destroyed. You will never meet with proper respect to the laws of this country until you have destroyed that nest of locusts."

England
indignant

Lord North, the prime minister, promptly introduced a series of bills to inflict the proposed punishment upon Boston and Massachusetts. The first measure, called the Boston Port Bill, closed the port of Boston to all ships until that rebellious town should pay for the tea thrown overboard and promise to obey the laws in the future. A second bill practically destroyed free government in Massachusetts. Hereafter most of the officers in that colony were to be appointed by the king or by the governor and, except for elections, the people could not even hold town meetings without the written consent of the governor. A third bill provided that officers accused of murder or other high crimes committed while they were suppressing riots or enforcing the law could be sent to another colony or to England for trial. A fourth required the people to provide quarters for the soldiers stationed in their midst. Last of all came the Quebec Act, which extended the boundaries of the province of Quebec to the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, thus depriving several of the colonies of western land which they claimed to own.

Parliament
punishes the
colonists

These acts, designed to punish the disobedient Americans, were not passed without protest in Parliament. Fox, a great orator and ever a friend of liberty, said that the tea tax ought to be unconditionally repealed. Edmund Burke, the greatest orator of his time and a firm friend of America, pointed out the folly of trying to coerce the colonies. But Lord North and the king's friends would not listen to these men. The tea tax was not repealed, and the bills to punish Boston and Massachusetts were promptly passed. In the colonies these measures were called the Five Intolerable Acts.

English
friends of
America

The Growth of Union in America.—The passage of the Five Intolerable Acts brought the colonies face to face with the

Submission
or union

alternative of submission to the authority of Parliament or of resistance to the British demands. They were resolved not to submit, but they were also beginning to see clearly that there was little hope of successful resistance unless all the colonies acted together.

It was hard
to act
together

It was far more difficult in those days to get the people to act together than it is now. In our time the railroads, telephone and telegraph lines, newspapers with a wide circulation, and a postal service that reaches every corner of the land tie our country together and make it easy for our people to think and act as one upon any great question of national concern. The colonists lacked all these means of communication and transportation. They seldom traveled far from home, and they knew very little about the country beyond their own immediate vicinity. Consequently, their thoughts, their interests, and their patriotism were local.

Early
attempts at
union

The colonists of 1774 had never really acted all together though some things in their history had made them think of union. In 1643 four of the New England colonies had united in order to defend themselves against the Indians and against the encroachments of their Dutch and French neighbors. This New England confederation lasted for about forty years. The long wars with the French and Indians in Canada had brought the troops of different colonies together and taught them something of the strength there is in acting in unison. In 1754 Benjamin Franklin had proposed a plan of union for all the colonies, but, as we have seen, it was rejected. The Stamp Act Congress of 1765 was a more recent example of concerted action.

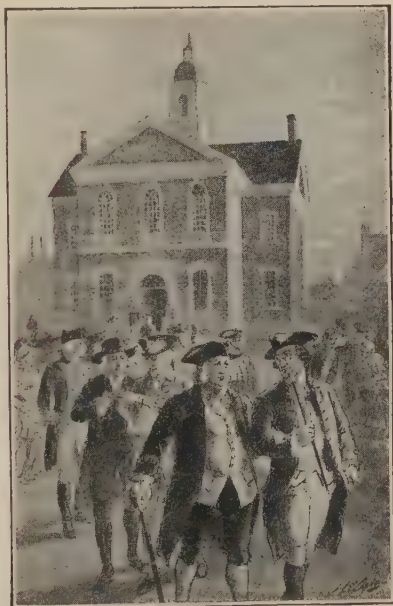
Committees
of corre-
spondence

In 1772, Samuel Adams, a keen and practical leader who saw very clearly the necessity of union, proposed in the Boston town meeting that a committee be appointed to write to the other towns in Massachusetts, stating the rights and grievances of the colonists. This scheme was adopted, and soon the other Massachusetts towns appointed similar committees of correspondence. These committees did much to form and guide public opinion in the colony. Governor Hutchinson, who disliked the committees of correspondence, said that they worked "to strike the colonists with a sense of their just claim to independence, and to stimulate them to assert it."

In 1773, intercolonial committees of correspondence were appointed. Led by Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, the legislature of Virginia voted to appoint a permanent committee "to maintain a correspondence with our sister colonies." Several other colonies quickly followed the example of Virginia. The members of the various intercolonial committees of correspondence compared opinions, became better acquainted with one another, and in this way prepared the ground for a union of all the thirteen colonies in their hour of need.

When the news of the passage of the Intolerable Acts reached America, it was felt that the hour for united action had arrived. Several of the colonies suggested that a general congress should be held, and at the call of Massachusetts, all of them, except Georgia, elected delegates to the First Continental Congress, which met in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia in September and October, 1774. The colonies sent their ablest men to this meeting. Samuel and John Adams of Massachusetts, John Jay of New York, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, Patrick Henry and George Washington of Virginia, and John Rutledge of South Carolina, were among the leaders. All these men were destined to play a great part in the coming Revolution.

After careful deliberation, the members of the First Continental Congress adopted a Declaration of Rights in which they said that the colonists were entitled to all the rights of Englishmen and that their own legislatures alone could make laws for them. The Congress also formed an Association whose mem-



Delegates Leaving Carpenter's Hall,
Philadelphia

The First
Continental
Congress

Its work

bers agreed not to import any British goods. Addresses stating the American position were sent to the king, to the people of the colonies, and to the people of Great Britain. Before adjourning it was planned to hold a new congress in May, 1775, if the government of England had not righted the wrongs of America before that time.

Results

One of the most important results of the meeting of the First Continental Congress was the opportunity it gave the leaders from the several colonies to get acquainted with one another and to become friends. In this way the Congress greatly strengthened the growing sentiment of union. Patrick Henry, the most eloquent member, finely expressed this feeling when he said, "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American."

War draws near

Drifting toward War.—During the winter following the meeting of the First Continental Congress, the country was steadily drifting toward war. Instead of listening to the protests of America, Parliament passed more drastic measures. The trade of New England was further restricted, and Massachusetts was declared to be in a state of rebellion. General Gage had already gone to Boston with four regiments of British soldiers. More troops were now sent to him and he was ordered to suppress the rebels by force.

The people help Boston

The closing of the port of Boston to all commerce caused great suffering among the poor of that city. Every one of the colonies sent supplies to the people of Boston during the winter of 1774-75. This relief was accompanied by letters which reveal the state of mind of the Revolutionary party throughout the colonies. The Connecticut committee wrote, "The people in all this part of the country are, to a man, resolutely determined to yield you all the assistance in our power." The South Carolina patriots declared that "Carolina stands foremost in her resolution to sacrifice her all in your defense." The letters from the other colonies breathed the same sentiments.

Preparation for the coming contest

In the meantime the colonists were agreed in preparing to defend themselves. In Massachusetts, arms and ammunition were collected, the militia were organized, and one-fourth of them—called the "minute-men"—were to be ready to march at a moment's warning. The other colonies began to follow

the example of Massachusetts. It was while the Virginia legislature was considering a motion to arm and train the militia of that colony that Patrick Henry in the most famous of Revolutionary speeches said, "If we wish to be free; if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending; if we mean not basely to



Israel Putnam Unhitching His Horse from the Plow to Start for the American Camp before Boston

abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir—we must fight! An appeal to arms, and to the God of hosts, is all that is left us."

REFERENCES.

Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I; Howard, *The Preliminaries of the Revolution*; Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*; Fisher, *The*

American Revolution; Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution*; Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. III; Tyler, *A Literary History of the American Revolution*, Vol. I.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. George the Third. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I, 38-45.
2. How the Americans Resisted the Stamp Act. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I, 21-27.
3. Benjamin Franklin's Examination by the House of Commons. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. II, 407-411.
4. Samuel Adams Makes up His Mind. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I, 54-57.
5. The Story of the Boston Massacre. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I, 65-72.
6. How the Tea Question Was Discussed in the Newspapers. Tyler, *A Literary History of the Revolution*, Vol. I, 251-257.
7. The Boston Tea Party. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I, 85-93.
8. The Five Intolerable Acts. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I, 93-97.
9. John Adams's Account of the First Continental Congress. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. II, 434-439.
10. Patrick Henry's Most Famous Speech. Tyler, *Patrick Henry*, 128-152.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: O'Reilly, *Crispus Attacks*; Holmes, *A Ballad of the Boston Tea-Party*; Francis Hopkinson, *The Daughter's Rebellion*; Thomas Paine, *Liberty Tree*; Benjamin Franklin, *The Mother Country*.

Stories: Cooke, *Stories of the Old Dominion*; Doctor Vandyke, *The Virginia Comedians*; Hawthorne, *Septimius Felton*; Cooper, *Lionel Lincoln*; Sedgwick, *The Linwoods*; Devereux, *From Kingdom to Colony*; Kenyon, *Won in War Time*.

Biographies: Tyler, *Patrick Henry*; Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*; Stillé, *John Dickinson*; Morse, *Benjamin Franklin*; Franklin, *Autobiography*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. What is a democracy? Was England a democracy in 1763? Is it a democracy now? What countries were included in the British empire in 1763?
2. Why did the colonies object to a British standing army in America? Is a standing army dangerous to the liberties of the people? Why?

3. Are women and children who cannot vote represented in our law-making bodies? What is meant by "public opinion"? If you wanted to get all the people in your town to agree upon some important matter, how would you go about it?

4. Why is mob violence an unwise way of attacking a wrong?

5. Why would it be unjust to take colonists accused of wrongdoing to England for trial?

✓ 6. Did the men who threw the tea overboard do right? Why? Why was it difficult to get the colonies to unite in defense of their rights?

7. What prominent Englishmen championed the cause of the colonists in Parliament? What is meant by "the rights of Englishmen"? Was there any actual suffering in America due to British tyranny? How far were the people of England to blame for British aggression upon American rights?

8. Who were the most important American leaders between 1763 and 1775? Were the Americans justified in rebelling against England? Why?

CHAPTER VII

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION

The story of
Lexington

The Beginning of the War.—Early in 1775, General Gage, the British commander in Boston, was ordered to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock, the patriot leaders, and send them to England for trial. On the night of April 18th, Gage sent

eight hundred troops to Lexington with orders to seize Adams and Hancock, who were staying in that town, and then to push on to Concord and capture or destroy the military stores which the colonists had been collecting there. Warned by Paul Revere, whose midnight ride from Boston is finely described in Longfellow's well-known poem, Adams and Hancock escaped, and



Old North Church, Boston

"Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry tower of the Old North Church."

when the British soldiers reached Lexington, at sunrise, they were confronted by about fifty minute-men under Captain John Parker. "Disperse, ye villains!" shouted Major Piteairn, as he rode up at the head of the British troops. "Stand your ground. Don't fire unless fired upon," said Captain Parker to his men, "but if they mean to have a war, let it begin here."

The fight at
Concord

The British fire at Lexington slew eight of our minute-men, wounded ten, and dispersed the remainder. The British then pressed on to Concord, where they destroyed such military stores

as had not been hidden or carried away, and skirmished with some militia at the bridge over the Concord River. It was of this fight that Ralph Waldo Emerson, one of our greatest men of letters, who afterward lived in Concord, wrote:

"By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world."

In the meantime companies of minute-men came swarming in from all the neighboring towns. Realizing their danger, the British began to retreat toward Boston. From behind every rock, clump of trees, and bit of rising ground along their line of march, a deadly fire was poured upon them. The red-coats fell thick and fast and their force was saved from complete destruction only by the timely arrival of Lord Percy with heavy reinforcements. The running fight continued all the afternoon, and at night-fall the harried British were glad to find shelter under the protection of the guns of their fleet in Boston harbor.

The retreat
from
Concord



"Disperse, Ye Villains!"

The victorious colonists encamped before Boston. All New England rose as the news of the British attack at Lexington and Concord was carried far and wide. John Stark came at the head of the New Hampshire minute-men, and Nathanael Greene led the militia of Rhode Island. In less than two days Israel Putnam rode into camp with the news that the men of Connecticut were on the march. Before a week passed sixteen thousand "embattled farmers" had gathered before the British lines at Boston. The war of the Revolution had begun.

The siege
of Boston
begun

Meanwhile the news of Lexington and Concord was speeding far beyond the borders of New England. Swift riders carried it to New York and Pennsylvania, to Virginia and the

The Revolution-
ary
rising

far south, and to the remote settlements in the valleys of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies. A party of hunters in the wilderness of Kentucky named the site of their camp Lexington in honor of the town where the first blow was struck for freedom. Everywhere the people were filled with wrath at the action of the British. Troops were raised and the patriot party in the various colonies began to drive out their British governors and to take the government into their own hands. In Virginia George Washington declared that Americans must choose between war and slavery.



The Vicinity of Boston

The second
Continental
Congress

While the news that war had begun was spreading over the country, the second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. The Adamsses of Massachusetts, Dickinson and Franklin of Pennsylvania, Patrick Henry and George Washington of Virginia, and the prominent leaders in all the other colonies were there. This Congress was our first national government. It adopted the soldiers who were encamped before Boston as its own, borrowed money to buy supplies for them, and most important of all, appointed George Washington to be their commander. In accepting this position Washington refused to take a penny of pay beyond his actual expenses for his services to his country.

But before Washington reached the army the first great battle of the war had been fought. During the night of June 16th the Americans under Colonel Prescott began to fortify Bunker Hill, northwest of Boston. If they were not quickly driven from this position, the American guns on the hilltop commanding Boston would soon make it impossible for the British to remain in that city. Three times the British troops

The battle of
Bunker Hill



The Invasion of Canada

assaulted the American intrenchments. Twice they were driven back with dreadful slaughter by the deadly fire of the colonial marksmen. But the British stubbornly came on a third time, and when the ammunition of the Americans was all gone the brave colonial troops were forced from the field.

The battle of Bunker Hill was a dearly bought victory for the British. More than one-third of their attacking force had fallen in the fight. The British began to realize that it was

going to be a difficult task to conquer the Americans, whose fighting qualities they had professed to despise. The Americans were greatly elated by their good showing. Nathanael Greene said, "I wish we could sell them another hill at the same price."

Washington
takes Boston

When Washington reached the army before Boston, he found nearly sixteen thousand untrained and poorly armed men. He spent several months in organizing and drilling his troops and in procuring cannon and ammunition. At the



The Death of Montgomery

The
American
invasion of
Canada

beginning of March, 1776, he felt strong enough to strike a telling blow at the British in Boston. He began by seizing and fortifying Dorchester Heights, which overlook the city from the south. The British saw that they must either drive Washington from this position, which commanded Boston, or give up the city. Remembering Bunker Hill, they chose the latter alternative and, embarking their army on board their fleet, they sailed away to Halifax. Not a British soldier was left upon the soil of New England.

On May 10, 1775, the very day that the second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, Ethan Allen

and Benedict Arnold, with a small force, surprised and captured the fortress at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. This bold stroke gave the Americans a much-needed supply of cannon and helped open the way to Canada. Some months later, General Richard Montgomery invaded Canada by way of Lake Champlain, captured Montreal, and advanced on Quebec. At the same time Benedict Arnold led another expedition into Canada

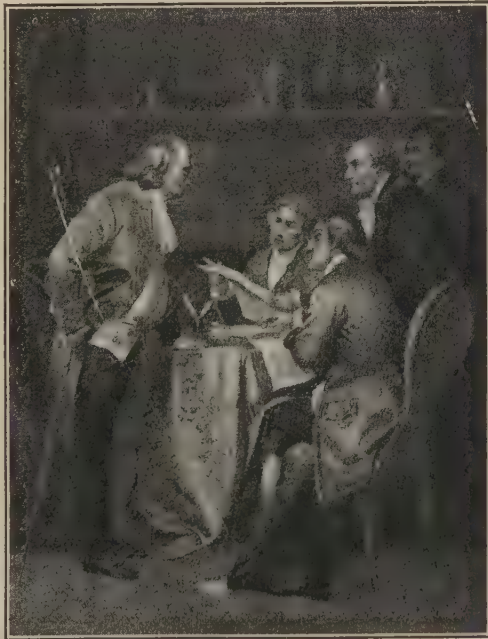
through the woods of Maine. Montgomery and Arnold united their forces before Quebec, and on the last day of 1775, they attempted to storm that city. The gallant Montgomery was killed at the head of his men, Arnold was seriously wounded, and the assault failed. In the spring of 1776, the Americans were driven out of Canada and the attempt to unite that province to the thirteen colonies to the southward ended in utter failure.

The Declaration of Independence.—When the Revolutionary War began there was no widespread desire for independence in America. The

colonists took up arms to defend their rights as Englishmen. But a year of war wrought a great change in their feeling toward the mother country. When George the Third scorned their last petition, declared them rebels, made war upon them, and even hired thousands of Hessian soldiers in Germany to overwhelm them, patriotic Americans quickly lost all feeling of loyalty to him. Their experience in seizing

the governments in the various colonies, and in organizing the Continental Congress, made the American people feel that they were quite able to manage their own governments. *Common Sense*, a pamphlet by Thomas Paine which was widely

Growing
toward inde-
pendence



The Committee—Franklin, Jefferson, Livingston, Adams and Sherman—Considering the Declaration of Independence

read, did much to intensify the growing desire for independence. In this pamphlet Paine declared that "the blood of the slain, the true interest of the continent, and the great distance between England and America all cry, 'Tis time to part.'" By the spring of 1776, the patriot leaders saw clearly that they had no choice except abject submission to the demands of Great Britain or a declaration of independence. They had no thought of submission.

Inde-
pendence
adopted

Virginia led in the work of separation from the mother country. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, one of the delegates from that colony, arose in the Continental Congress and moved, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." This motion was promptly seconded by John Adams of Massachusetts. After some debate it was decided to postpone action upon Lee's motion for three weeks in order to learn more fully the wishes of the people in the matter. At the same time a committee headed by Thomas Jefferson was appointed to draw a declaration of independence.

By July 1st many of the states had instructed their delegates to vote for independence. On that day Lee's motion was taken up and the next day it was passed. The Congress began immediately to consider the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, which Jefferson's committee had reported, and on July 4th the Declaration was adopted. Ever since 1776 we have celebrated the Fourth of July as the birthday of the nation.

The Declaration of Independence was written by Thomas Jefferson. A few slight changes in its wording were suggested

John Hancock
Th. Jefferson
Benj. Franklin
John Adams
Chas. Carroll
Richard Henry Lee
Roger Morris
Step. Hopkins
John Morton
John Penn
Edmund Randolph

Some of the Signatures to the Declaration
of Independence



THE LIBERTY BELL'S FIRST NOTE—1753

The scene is in the foundry of Pass and Stow, Philadelphia, in 1753. The tone of the newly cast bell is about to be tested. John Pass, one of the firm, stands at the right. Isaac Norris, in the grey coat, the Chairman of the Committee appointed to buy the bell for the State House, is talking to Benjamin Franklin. The young lady, a relative of Isaac Norris, is about to strike the bell for its first note, which proved to be beautifully clear and resonant.

by John Adams and Benjamin Franklin who were members of the committee of which Jefferson was chairman. After its adoption, the Declaration of Independence was carefully copied upon parchment and, some time later, it was signed by fifty-six members of the Congress. The original parchment is now in the department of state at Washington.

This immortal document consists of three parts: A statement of the political principles upon which the new nation

**The Declara-
tion**



· The Declaration of Independence Announced to the People

was founded; a long list of charges against the king of Great Britain; and the declaration that "these colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States." The declaration closes with these noble words, "For the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

In the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence the fundamental principle of democratic government is clearly

The funda-
mental
principle of
democracy

stated by Jefferson in one great sentence,—a sentence that ought to be committed to memory by every young American. It is as follows:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

Rejoicing by
the people

Everywhere the Declaration of Independence was received with joy by the people, who gathered in great crowds to hear it read. In Philadelphia the Liberty Bell, which may still be seen in Independence Hall, rang out the good news to all the land. In all the chief towns the militia paraded, the drums rolled, cannon roared, and the day of rejoicing ended with a feast and a great bonfire in the evening.

Divided
opinion in
America

~~The~~ **Loyalists or Tories.**—The Declaration of Independence compelled every American to choose between loyalty to the king of England and allegiance to the new nation. This was a hard choice to many of the colonists who loved their mother country in spite of her treatment of them. There had been wide differences of opinion among the people ever since the war began. Many there were, as we have seen, who were resolved to stand up for their rights at any cost. A few approved the conduct of the British government. A much larger number disliked the British policy in America but were unwilling to oppose it by any but peaceful means. They wished to remain loyal Englishmen. Some, like the Quakers who hated war, wished to remain neutral in the struggle. Others cared little for any cause except their own selfish interests, but were shocked by the lawlessness of revolution and feared the loss of their property in the war. A very large part of the men of wealth and education were opposed to separation from England, and many of their poorer and more ignorant neighbors were influenced by them. These loyalists, or Tories, as the patriots called them, were found in all the colonies, but they were

especially numerous in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

While the loyalists were numerous, they failed to make much headway against the better organized and more aggressive Whigs, as the members of the patriot party were called. In North Carolina sixteen hundred Tories who took up arms in defense of the king's cause were defeated and dispersed at Moore's Creek, early in 1776. In the other colonies the Tories met a similar fate or were disarmed to prevent fighting.

The work of
the Tories

A young Pennsylvania Tory wrote in his diary, "This day I left my father's house because I would not be a traitor to my king and country." The same motive led many young Tories like him to run away from home and enlist in the British army. In New York and the Carolinas, whole regiments of Tories were enlisted. It has been estimated that at least fifty thousand Americans served in the British army or navy or in the loyalist militia during the war.

The Tories who stayed at home were even more dangerous to the success of the American cause than were those who joined the British army. They spied upon the American troops, gave information to the British, and sold them much-needed supplies. It is no wonder that the Tories were hated and harshly treated by the Whigs. Even before the war began they were hooted and jeered and often roughly handled by mobs. After the Declaration of Independence was adopted their conduct became treason against their country and they were then fined, imprisoned, deprived of their property and, in some cases, banished to distant parts of the country. In a few instances, Tories were put to death after a trial for treason. In New York and the Carolinas the bitter hatred between Whig and Tory neighbors made the war in those states especially savage and merciless.

Their treatment by the
Whigs

One cannot read about the Tories without realizing that our war for independence was a very difficult one to win, because the patriots led by Washington and his associates were fighting, not only against the British army, but also against a large Tory faction at home. England was divided somewhat in the same way, for while the king and his ministers were trying to conquer the new nation, no small part of the English people actually sympathized with the American cause.

The trying
nature of
our war for
independence

**The British
plan of
attack**

The War in the Middle States.—The only way in which the British could win the Revolutionary War was to attack and disperse the American armies. After careful preparation they began this attack in 1776. Because of the military importance of that place, the first blow was struck at New York. By the capture of the city of New York the British hoped to secure control of the Hudson River and thus cut the country in two, isolate New England, which was looked upon as the most rebellious section, and then quickly crush all opposition.



Washington's Headquarters near Newburg on the Hudson
The American army was disbanded here at the close of the Revolutionary War.

**The British
capture
New York**

Washington had foreseen this plan of the British, and when their fleet and army reached the vicinity of New York in the summer of 1776, he was there ready to oppose them. General Howe, who led the British army, attacked and defeated Washington in the battle of Long Island and soon captured the city of New York. Washington retreated slowly northward on the east side of the Hudson River, fighting the pursuing British at Harlem Heights and White Plains. When Washington reached the Highlands of the Hudson, the British gave up the pursuit of his army, but strengthened their hold upon New

York by capturing Fort Washington and Fort Lee which guarded the Hudson just above that city.

It was during this campaign that Captain Nathan Hale, who had been a school teacher in Connecticut before the war, went into New York to obtain information for Washington and was caught by the British and put to death as a spy. His countrymen have never forgotten that when Hale was led out to his execution he said, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."



The Battle of Trenton

In the fall of 1776 the British began to overrun New Jersey. Leaving part of his force to prevent the British from ascending the Hudson River, Washington marched through northern Jersey and threw his remaining troops across the line of the British advance toward Philadelphia. He was not strong enough to give battle so he slowly fell back, delaying the British as much as he could. In December Washington was driven across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

The British were unable to cross the Delaware in pursuit because Washington had seized all the boats for many miles along the river. Accordingly, detachments of their army went into camp in various New Jersey towns and waited for ice to form on the river so that they could cross and continue the

Nathan Hale

The retreat
in New
Jersey

The darkest
hour of the
Revolution

pursuit. It was the darkest hour of the Revolution for the Americans. Their army was rapidly dwindling away. Washington said that unless help came soon the game was up. But he did not despair and when hope seemed almost gone he boldly struck a blow that greatly changed the face of affairs.

On Christmas night, 1776, in the midst of a blinding snow-storm, Washington crossed the Delaware nine miles above Trenton, marched rapidly upon that town and, in the early morning, surprised and captured a force of one thousand Hessians who were quartered there. This success gave new courage to the Americans and brought more men to the army. A few days later Washington again crossed the Delaware, eluded Cornwallis, who led a British force against him, defeated another British detachment at Princeton, and then marching northward, went into winter quarters at Morristown in the hill country of northern New Jersey. With Washington in this strong position the British were compelled to abandon most of New Jersey. They held only the city of New York and its immediate vicinity.

The year 1777 proved to be the great battle year of the Revolution. It was the British plan to have the army in New York under General Howe advance up the Hudson, while another British army, led by General Burgoyne, came from Canada by way of Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson to join Howe's force. It was hoped that these united armies, holding the line of the Hudson, would make short work of the American rebels. This British plan was very good, but fortunately for the American cause, General Howe did not carry out his part of it.

Early in 1777, Howe decided to capture Philadelphia, the rebel capital, before co-operating with Burgoyne. This was a fatal mistake on his part. Howe first tried to march across New Jersey to Philadelphia, but Washington posted his army so skilfully that the British general dared neither attack him nor advance, leaving him in his rear. Howe then put the greater part of his army on his ships and sailed away. For several anxious weeks his destination was unknown. At last the news came that the British had landed at the Elk River, near the head of Chesapeake Bay, and were about to advance upon Philadelphia from the southwest.

Trenton and
Princeton

The British
plan in 1777

Howe's
campaign
against
Philadelphia

Head Quarters Morris
Town 22^d Feb 1777

Sir,

The cry of, want of Provisions comes to me from all Quarters — Gen^l Mawell writes word, that his Men are starving — Gen Johnston, of Maryland, yesterday informed me that his people would draw here — this difficulty I understand prevails also at Chatham — What Sir is the meaning of this? — & why were you so desirous of excluding others from this business when you are unable to accomplish it yourself? — Consider, I beseech you, the consequences of this neglect, and exert yourself to remove the evil, ^{& consequently} which cannot be less fatal to the Army, than disagreeable to

Yr^y very A Son^r
G: Washington.

A Letter Written by Washington on his Forty-fifth Birthday

This, to the contractor who monopolized the provisioning of the army, shows that the sufferings at Morristown were much like those at Valley Forge.

The battle of Brandywine

As soon as Washington heard where Howe had landed, he quickly marched his army through Philadelphia and hurrying on, confronted the British in northern Delaware. Then, slowly falling back, Washington took a strong position behind the Brandywine Creek in southeastern Pennsylvania. Here the

British attacked him on September 11, 1777, and the battle of Brandywine was fought. After a stubborn resistance, Washington was driven from the field, and about two weeks later the British occupied Philadelphia.

The British were scarcely settled in Philadelphia before Washington attacked them furiously at Germantown, on October 4th, and was beaten off only after the most desperate fighting. After sev-



Lafayette Wounded at the Battle of Brandywine
This French marquis joined Washington's staff in the
Summer of 1777.

eral weeks spent in capturing the American forts on the Delaware River below Philadelphia and in bringing their fleet up to the city, the British settled down in the "rebel capital" for the winter. Washington watched them from his camp upon the hills at Valley Forge, about twenty miles up the Schuylkill River.

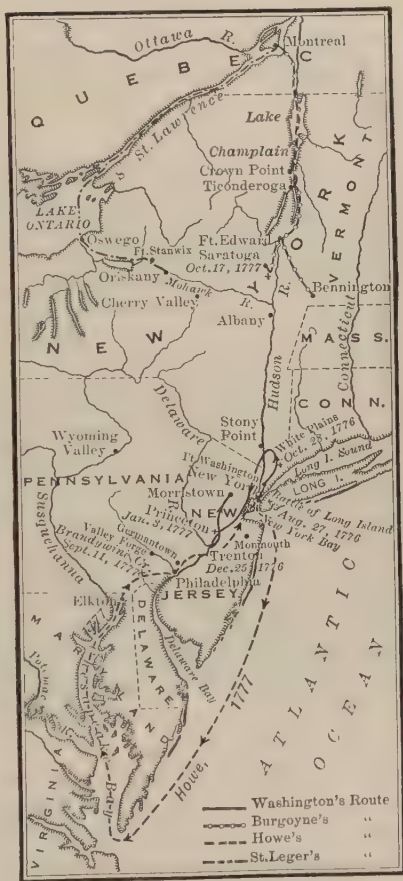
While Howe was carrying on his campaign against Philadelphia, General Burgoyne led a British army from Canada to Lake Champlain, captured Ticonderoga, and slowly made his way across the country to the Hudson River. In the meantime another British expedition under General St. Leger had entered the Mohawk Valley from Oswego on Lake Ontario; but the

The British in Philadel- phia

Burgoyne's campaign

gallant resistance of the garrison at Fort Stanwix and the stubborn fighting of the American militia under General Herkimer at Oriskany had checked its advance and, a little later, an American force under Benedict Arnold drove St. Leger back to Canada. Another expedition which Burgoyne sent into Vermont was almost destroyed at Bennington, by the New England militia under John Stark. Finally Burgoyne's invading army was stopped and turned back by two battles fought near Saratoga. With his retreat to Canada cut off by the militia, which came swarming in from New England, Burgoyne was forced to surrender his army to the American, General Gates, at Saratoga, October 17, 1777. This loss of an entire army was a severe blow to the British and a turning point in the war.

The winter of 1777-1778, which Washington spent with his army at Valley Forge, was marked by the greatest privation and suffering of the entire war. The troops were half-clad and often scarcely fed at all. There was much sickness in the camp, and many soldiers died before spring came. Yet no one thought of giving up. Washington said, "Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable pa-



The War in the Middle States

Washington
at Valley
Forge

tience and fidelity of the soldiery." Valley Forge is the greatest shrine of patriotism in all our land. Its name "will never cease to be associated with the memory of sufferings quietly and steadfastly borne, but not endured in vain." If possible, every young American ought to pay it a reverent visit.

When the spring of 1778 brought warmer weather and more comfort to the patriots at Valley Forge, much time was devoted to drill and to the reorganization of the army. Baron



Washington and a Committee of Congress at Valley Forge

Von Steuben, a German soldier who joined the American army at Valley Forge, rendered invaluable service as drillmaster. The news that France had formed an alliance with the new American republic, which reached Washington and his men before they left Valley Forge, gave them renewed hope and confidence for the struggle yet before them.

When the British learned that a French fleet and army were crossing the Atlantic to help the Americans, they abandoned Philadelphia and started to return to New York. No sooner did Washington learn of this movement than he broke

The British
return to
New York

camp at Valley Forge and started in hot pursuit of the British. He overtook them at Monmouth, New Jersey, where an indecisive battle was fought. The British continued their retreat to New York, which they reached in safety, and Washington returned to his old position near the Hudson River.

During the remainder of the war, Washington watched the British in New York, but there was little fighting in the middle states. In 1779, General Sullivan was sent to central New York to punish the Iroquois Indians, who had massacred many settlers on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania. The same year General Anthony Wayne, one of the best fighters in the American army, gallantly stormed Stony Point on the Hudson River, at the point of the bayonet. In 1780, Benedict Arnold, who had fought with the utmost heroism in Canada and at Saratoga, turned traitor and attempted to betray West Point to the British, but without success. None of these events, however, were of great importance in deciding the outcome of the war.

The closing years of the war in the North

Help from France.—From the beginning of the Revolution France had sympathized with the Americans. French statesmen remembered the long contest of their country with England for the control of North America, and were delighted at the prospect of the breaking up of the British empire. France had a despotic government at this time, but many young Frenchmen were enthusiastic over the right to govern themselves, for which the Americans were fighting, and already were dreaming of winning it for their own country. Indeed, not many years later, their dream was to be realized, and democracy was to take the place of the despotic rule of the king in France.

French sympathy with the Americans

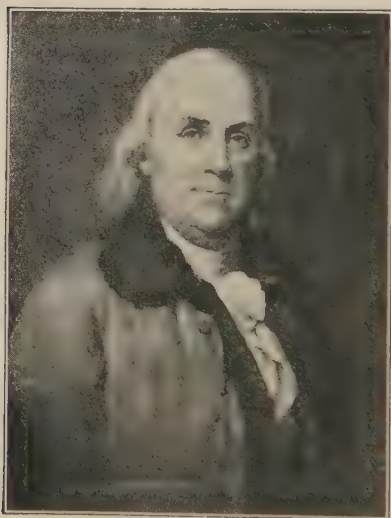
French sympathy with the struggling Americans was shown in many ways. The French government secretly loaned money to the American agents in Paris and furnished arms and supplies for Washington's army. In their enthusiasm for liberty, young French noblemen offered their services to the new republic across the sea. The most famous of these Frenchmen was the Marquis of Lafayette, who was made a major-general in the American army and rendered services of the greatest value to our country. Nor must we forget the German soldier, De Kalb, and the Pole, Pulaski, both of whom came to

Lafayette

America from France and fell in battle while fighting gallantly for our independence.

In 1776, Benjamin Franklin was sent to Paris to plead for the recognition of the new nation. At this time Franklin's writings and scientific discoveries made him the best known man in America. No one except Washington did more to gain the independence of the United States. Franklin was received with enthusiasm in France where his shrewd wisdom, kind heart, and simple manners charmed the people whom he met and won them, heart and soul, to our cause.

Franklin in
France



From the portrait in the capitol of Pennsylvania

Benjamin Franklin

The French
alliance

For some time the French government hesitated to recognize the new republic across the Atlantic for fear that it might not be able to make good its declaration of independence. When the news of Burgoyne's defeat and surrender reached Paris the people rejoiced as if over a great French victory. The French government hesitated no longer. Early in 1778, France recognized the independence of the United States and made a treaty of friendship and alliance with the new nation. It was agreed that if England should make war

upon France, as she was now practically sure to do, the United States and France would unite their forces against England, and that neither of them would make peace without the consent of the other.

Soon after the French alliance was made, Great Britain offered her former colonists all that they had asked before the war if they would desert the French and return to their old allegiance. This offer came too late and was rejected with scorn by the Americans who were now more confident than

ever that with French aid they were sure to win in their struggle for independence.

The alliance with France was of inestimable value to the American cause. France now openly loaned our government money that was sorely needed, and sent fleets and armies to our aid. We might possibly have achieved our independence without this help, but it is certain that the aid of France shortened the Revolutionary War by several years. We owe France a debt of gratitude which we ought never to forget, and which we began to repay when American soldiers went to fight, side by side with the French, in the Great War, in 1917.

Our debt to France

The Beginnings of the American Navy.—The complete control of the sea, which the British possessed at the opening of the Revolution, put the coast towns of America at the mercy of their ships of war. In 1775, Falmouth on the coast of Maine was burned by the British. In 1776, a British fleet threatened Charleston, South Carolina, but was beaten off by the deadly fire from Fort Moultrie which the Americans had built to guard the entrance to Charleston harbor. Later in the war, Fairfield and Norwalk, on the coast of Connecticut, were burned by British marauders who came by sea.

British attacks upon our coasts

The numerous colonial trading ships were likewise in great peril from the cruisers of the British navy and, during the course of the war, many of them were captured. Without a strong navy of its own about the only thing that the American government could do in retaliation for these losses was to authorize private citizens to arm their own ships and prey upon English commerce. Before the close of the Revolution these American privateers captured hundreds of English merchant vessels, and daring American captains even carried this kind of warfare to the waters about Great Britain itself.

American privateers

From the beginning of the war the need of an American navy was evident, and before the close of 1775, the Continental Congress took the first steps toward forming one. Early in 1776, Captain Esek Hopkins hoisted the first flag ever flown upon an American man-of-war. It was a yellow silk banner bearing the figures of a pine tree and a rattlesnake, with the motto, "Don't tread on me."

Our need of a navy

John Paul Jones was the most famous captain in our early navy. Jones was a Scotch sailor who had settled in Virginia

John Paul Jones

some years before the Revolution began. He entered the navy at its beginning and from the first proved to be an officer of great skill and daring. In 1778, Captain Jones crossed the Atlantic with the American ship, *Ranger*, prowled about the coasts of Great Britain, took several merchant prizes, captured a British warship which carried more guns than the *Ranger*, and even burned some of the shipping in a port on the coast of England.



Action between the "Bonhomme Richard" and "Serapis"

The great
sea fight of
the Revolution

After these daring exploits, Jones went to France, which, as we have seen, had now formed an alliance with the United States. Here he was given the command of a little squadron with which to cruise off the English coast. Jones named his flagship the *Bonhomme Richard*. This French name means "Goodman Richard," and was given in honor of Benjamin Franklin, the author of "Poor Richard's Almanac." During the night of September 23, 1779, Captain Jones, in the *Bonhomme Richard* fought the most terrific naval action of the Revolution with the *Serapis*, a British warship which he encountered off the east coast of England. After an hour's fighting, during which the Americans lost heavily, the two ships came together. There was a moment's lull in the firing and the English captain



THE SHIP THAT SUNK IN VICTORY—1779

© J. L. G. Ferris

THE SHIP THAT SUNK IN VICTORY—1779

During the night of September 23, 1779, the most terrific naval action of the Revolution was fought off the English coast between the American ship "Bonhomme Richard," Captain John Paul Jones, and the British ship "Serapis," Captain Richard Pearson. Jones captured the "Serapis," but his own ship was so cut to pieces by the British fire that it sunk the next morning. Captain Jones and his surviving crew sailed away in the ship they had taken. In the picture, Captains Jones and Pearson are watching, from the deck of the "Serapis," the victorious American ship as it slowly settled beneath the waves. Captain Jones says: "No one was left aboard the 'Richard' but our dead. The very last vestige mortal eyes ever saw of the 'Bonhomme Richard' was the defiant waving of her unconquered flag as she went down. And as I had given them the grand old ship for their sepulchre, I now bequeathed to my immortal dead the flag they had so desperately defended for their winding sheet."

called out. "Have you struck your colors?" "I have not yet begun to fight," was the defiant reply of Captain Jones. The awful fight went on with the ships lashed together until the brave English captain, standing almost alone among the killed and wounded upon his deck, was forced to surrender. The *Bonhomme Richard* was so cut to pieces by the British fire that it sank the next morning, but Captain Jones managed to bring the ship he had captured into a port in Holland.

After the French alliance was formed, the navy of France gave valuable assistance to the American cause. Later, Spain and Holland were drawn into the war on the side of France. **Aid from the French navy** During the closing years of the Revolution, the fleets of all these countries were arrayed against the British navy, but in this great naval contest, the United States with its few ships of war, of necessity, played little part.

The War in the South.—By the fall of 1778, New York City and Newport, Rhode Island, were the only places in the United States held by the British, and Newport was given up the next year. The British plan to secure control of the Hudson River, and thus divide and conquer the northern states, had failed utterly. The British now resolved to carry the war to the far South. Even if they lost the North, it would be well worth while to regain that region with its rich exports of tobacco, rice, and naval stores. They were beginning to think that "half a loaf was better than no bread."

Near the close of 1778, the British seized Savannah and soon recovered all Georgia, which was then the weakest of the southern states. It was in the British plan to move northward, conquering the states, one by one. At first they met with little success. In 1779, the American General Lincoln, with the aid of a French fleet, attacked the British at Savannah, but failed to take that city. The gallant Polish patriot, Count Pulaski, who had come to fight for freedom in America, was slain in the assault upon Savannah. **Fighting in Georgia**

In 1780, the British were heavily reënforced, and advanced into South Carolina. General Lincoln unwisely allowed his army to be shut up in Charleston and was quickly forced to surrender. This was the most terrible disaster that overtook the Americans during the entire war. There was no longer an American army in the South. Francis Marion and other **The British overrun South Carolina**

partisan leaders who lurked in the swamps, with small bands of men, bravely kept up the fight, but they could not prevent the British from overrunning the whole state. The people of



The Campaigns in the South

the Carolinas were much divided in sentiment. Some of the Tories now took up arms, and soon South Carolina suffered all the horrors of civil war.

The defeat of
Gates at
Camden

After the loss of General Lincoln's army at Charleston, General Gates, "the hero of Saratoga," was sent to organize

and lead a new American force in the South. Gates soon showed that he did not deserve the high reputation which the splendid fighting of other men at Saratoga had won for him. When he attacked the British at Camden in South Carolina he was badly beaten and his army scattered. North Carolina was thus exposed to British attack, but just as the British General, Cornwallis, was advancing to occupy that state, he was turned back by the overwhelming defeat which the frontiersmen of the western border inflicted upon a detachment of his troops at King's Mountain. This ended the fighting in 1780.

After the disastrous defeat of General Gates at Camden, Nathanael Greene was sent to lead the American forces in the South. Next to Washington, Greene was the best soldier of the Revolution, and he was ably assisted in his first southern campaign by General Daniel Morgan, who served under him. This campaign opened early in 1781 with the inspiring victory which Morgan won at the Cowpens over a British cavalry force under Tarleton. Greene and Morgan were not yet strong enough to meet the main British army, so they retreated across North Carolina with Cornwallis in hot pursuit. At last Greene felt strong enough to fight, and turning back he met the British at Guilford Court House. An indecisive battle followed. Greene fell back, but the British were obliged to march to Wilmington, on the coast, to renew their supplies. Cornwallis then marched northward into Virginia.

Greene's
campaign in
the South

Instead of following Cornwallis to Virginia, Greene moved southward and began the task of driving the British detachments out of South Carolina. He was welcomed and assisted by the patriot leaders of that state, and before the end of 1780, the Americans recovered the far South and confined the British troops to the coast cities of Charleston and Savannah.

The recovery
of the South

When Cornwallis reached Virginia he was confronted by Lafayette with a small American force. The young Frenchman was not strong enough to give battle, but he marched hither and thither, successfully eluding all the British efforts to capture him. At last Cornwallis went into camp at Yorktown where he could keep in touch with the British fleet, upon which he depended for supplies. The timely arrival of a strong French fleet, which drove away the British ships and held Chesapeake Bay, gave Washington the opportunity for which

The sur-
render at
Yorktown

he had been waiting. With his own army and a strong force of French troops under Rochambeau, Washington hurried from his position near New York to Virginia and besieged Cornwallis at Yorktown. After a desperate resistance, the British army was compelled to surrender, on October 19, 1781. The hard fighting of the Revolutionary War was over.

The end of
the war

The Treaty of Peace.—After the surrender of Cornwallis Great Britain lost all hope of conquering her rebellious American

colonies. When Lord North, the prime minister of George III, heard of the surrender at Yorktown, he cried out, "O God, it is all over." Many of the English people had never really favored the war, and all of them had grown tired of it. Lord North resigned, and King George III was obliged to appoint ministers who would bring the war to an end.

Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, three of the ablest men in America, were sent to talk over terms of peace with the representatives of England. The meeting took place in Paris and the treaty, which was finally signed in 1783, is called the Peace of



The Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown

Paris. By the treaty of Paris, Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States. It was agreed that the new nation should extend from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi River and from Canada and the Great Lakes on the north to the thirty-first parallel of latitude on the south. Florida was restored to Spain, which had owned Louisiana, as the country west of the Mississippi was called, ever since 1763. Thus Spain became our neighbor on the south and west, and England retained Canada on the north.

Terms of
peace

The Treaty of Paris also gave the Americans the right to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland, and provided that British merchants should have the right to collect debts which Americans owed them when the Revolution began. After the treaty was signed the last British troops were withdrawn from Savannah, Charleston, and New York. Before the close of 1783 the American army was disbanded, and Washington resigned his commission and retired to his home at Mount Vernon.

The Men of the Revolution.—We owe the freedom of our country to the men of the Revolution. In strength of character, in patriotic purpose, and in the iron will which held him steadfast to his purpose in spite of the most disheartening defeats and discouragements, George Washington was easily foremost among all the men of his time. Our forefathers trusted and followed Washington in the darkest hours of the Revolution because they had implicit confidence in his integrity, his good judgment, his dauntless courage, and his unselfish devotion to his country.

George
Washington

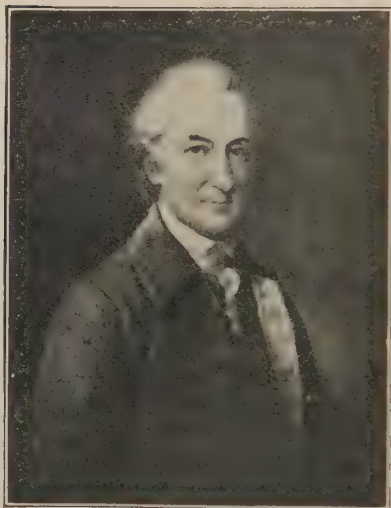
Second only to Washington in the value of their services were several other great soldiers of the Revolution. Foremost among them stood Nathanael Greene, who recovered the far South from the British. Knox and Sullivan were trusted generals in Washington's army. Philip Schuyler prepared the way for the great victory at Saratoga, for which his successor, Gates, was unjustly credited. Anthony Wayne was a dashing leader who served from the beginning to the end of the war and was ever found where the battle raged most fiercely. Worthy to rank with Wayne were those gallant fighters, John Stark, the victor at Bennington; Nicholas Herkimer, the hero of Oriskany; Francis Marion, who kept the patriot cause alive during the dark days of defeat in South Carolina; Daniel Morgan, who well nigh destroyed the British force at the Cowpens; and Paul Jones, who first made the Stars and Stripes respected upon the sea. Nor will Americans ever forget that noble young Frenchman, Lafayette, who unselfishly gave himself to the cause of liberty, and, as a general in our army, proved to have "an old man's head upon a young man's shoulders."

Other
military
leaders

In the value of their services, the statesmen of the Revolution stand side by side with the military leaders. The determination to stand up for their rights at all costs, which led the

Revolution-
ary
statesmen

colonists into the war, was due in no small measure to the fiery eloquence of Patrick Henry and the logical writings of Samuel Adams and John Dickinson. Thomas Jefferson will live forever as the author of the Declaration of Independence. Robert Morris, "the financier of the Revolution," gave his time



John Dickinson

One of the wisest statesmen of the Revolution.

and his fortune, without stint, to the service of his country. The value of Franklin's efforts in securing the French Alliance was inestimable. To the same wise old head, and to the sturdy and unyielding John Adams and John Jay, we are indebted for the favorable terms of the Treaty of Peace.

But the skill and valor of our generals and the wisdom of our statesmen would have been of little use without the support of the common people. The success of the Revolution was due to the private soldiers who marched and

fought at Long Island and Saratoga and Yorktown, or starved and froze at Valley Forge. No less important was the steadfast patriotism of the citizens at home who supported the war. The "incomparable fidelity" of the soldiers and the citizens alike, through eight long and trying years, at last established the independence of the United States.

REFERENCES.

Van Tyne, *The American Revolution*; Carrington, *Battles of the American Revolution*; The histories of the Revolution and the histories of the United States mentioned in the references for Chapter VI.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Story of Lexington and Concord. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, I, 120-126.

The courage
and fidelity
of the people

2. The Battle of Bunker Hill. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, I, 136-146.
3. The Declaration of Independence. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, I, 183-197.
4. The Tories in the Revolution. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution*, 248-268.
5. Woman's Work for the Soldiers in the Revolution. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, II, 485-488.
6. The Fight at Oriskany. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, I, 286-292.
7. Life at Valley Forge. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, II, 568-573.
8. The Story of Arnold's Treason. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, II, 206-228.
9. John Paul Jones's Greatest Fight. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, II, 120-130.
10. The Battle of King's Mountain. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, II, 241-294.
11. Cornwallis's Account of His Surrender at Yorktown. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, II, 615-618.
12. The Negotiations for Peace. Fiske, *The Critical Period*, 1-36.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Longfellow, *Paul Revere's Ride*; *Hymn of the Moravian Nuns of Bethlehem*; Whittier, *Lexington*; Emerson, *The Concord Hymn*; Read, *The Rising*; Bryant, *The Green Mountain Boys*; *The Song of Marion's Men*; Simms, *The Swamp Fox*; Pierpont, *Warren's Address to the American Soldiers*; Finch, *Nathan Hale*; Drake, *The American Flag*.

Novels: Chambers, *The Reckoning*; Churchill, *Richard Carvel*; Ford, *Janice Meredith*; Frederic, *In the Valley*; Mitchell, *Hugh Wynne*; Cooper, *The Pilot*; *The Spy*; Brady, *For Love of Country*; Simms, *The Partisan*; Mellichampe, *The Scout*; Katharine Walton, *The Forayers*; *The Entaws*.

Biographies: Scudder, *Washington*; Carrington, *Washington the Soldier*; Morse, *Benjamin Franklin*; John Adams; Thomas Jefferson; Brooks, *The True Story of Lafayette*.

Oration: *At Valley Forge, June 19, 1878*, by Henry Arnett Brown. This oration, which is published in the "Classics in the Grades" series by the Christopher Sower Company, ought to be read in every American school.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. What did Emerson mean when he said that the farmers at Concord fired a "shot heard round the world"? How was the news spread from place to place at the time of the Revolution?

2. Why have Americans built a monument at Bunker Hill to commemorate a defeat?

3. Commit to memory the sentence in the Declaration of Independence beginning, "We hold these truths to be self-evident."

4. How were the Tories treated during the Revolution? Was this treatment just? Was it expedient?

5. Show how the War of the Revolution was influenced by the physical geography of America.

6. Who was to blame for the suffering at Valley Forge? Could these hardships have been avoided?

7. Question for debate: Could the Americans have won their independence without the aid of France?

8. Trace upon a map the route of Washington's army during the war. Locate Bennington, Oriskany, Morristown, Chad's Ford, Guilford Court House, Cowpens, Camden.

9. Who was Israel Putnam? Joseph Warren? Colonel Prescott? Colonel Moultrie? "Light Horse Harry" Lee? Silas Deane? Charles Lee? John André? Count de Grasse?

CHAPTER VIII

THE BEGINNINGS OF OUR GOVERNMENT

A Federal Government.—The United States is a nation composed of states. All of us who were born or naturalized in this country are citizens of the United States. At the same time, we are citizens of the state in which we live. In each of our states the people have set up a government which makes and enforces laws for the protection of life and property, provides schools, builds roads, and serves the people of that state in many other ways. But we also owe obedience to a United States government established by the people of the whole nation. The national government coins our money, carries the mail, maintains an army and navy, and does many other things to serve all the people. A government like ours, in which a part of the work of governing is done by the several states and a part by the nation as a whole, is called federal. Let us see how a federal government grew up in our country.

The states
and the
Union

From Colonies to States.—During the colonial period, as we have already learned, governments somewhat like those in our states at the present time developed in each of the colonies. But these colonial governments had been set up in the first place by the authority of England. In most of them the governor was appointed by the king or by a proprietor to whom the king had given the right to govern. When the Revolution began, these royal and proprietary governors were driven out of office. The people of each colony then took its government into their own hands and elected assemblies or conventions to manage public affairs. This arrangement, however, was only temporary. The people in each state soon felt the need of a permanent written constitution, and all the states, except Rhode Island and Connecticut, made such constitutions soon after the Declaration of Independence was adopted. In Rhode Island and Connecticut the people kept their colonial charters, under which they were practically free to manage their own affairs, and treated them as state constitutions.

How the
colonies
became
states

What is a
constitution?

A constitution is the fundamental law which the people of a state or nation draw up and adopt when they form a permanent government. In this document the people provide for the election or appointment of the officers who are to govern them, state what powers these officers are to have, and establish a way of getting rid of them if they neglect their duties or exercise power which has not been granted to them by the people. In brief, a constitution is a law by which the people establish and control their own government. A written constitution is very important to a free people, because it helps them to know their rights and to prevent any encroachment upon those rights by the men whom they have chosen to be their rulers.

The first
state govern-
ments

The first state governments were much like the colonial governments which had just been overthrown and, at the same time, they strongly resembled the governments found in our states at the present time. In each state there was an elected legislature which made the laws. In all of them, except Pennsylvania and Georgia, this lawmaking body was made up of two houses. Each of the new states except Pennsylvania had a governor whose duty it was to enforce the law. In Pennsylvania, until 1790, the power to enforce the law was vested in an executive council of twelve members. Then, as now, there were judges in each state who interpreted the laws and applied them in cases which were brought before the courts.

Growing
more
democratic

But the state governments which were set up during the Revolution were far less democratic than the governments of our states at present. Now the governors of all our states are elected by a direct vote of the people. Then the governors of some of the states were chosen by the state legislature. In our time the judges in most of the states are elected by popular vote. In those days all judges were appointed by the governors or by the legislatures. Now all men, and in many states the women too, have the right to vote. Then the suffrage was generally limited to property owners or tax payers. Our country has been growing more democratic ever since it gained its independence.

Union
necessary
but difficult

Our First National Government.—Our ways of living are very different from those of our Revolutionary ancestors. We read the news of the whole world in our daily papers and can

travel quickly to any part of the United States. Before the Revolution, people heard little news except that of their own neighborhoods, and few men ever traveled outside the colony in which they were born. Under such conditions it was very difficult to get the people of all the colonies to act together. Yet some of the wisest Revolutionary leaders had long seen that the colonists must unite if they were to succeed in maintaining their rights against the aggressions of the British government. "We must all hang together or we shall all hang separately," said Benjamin Franklin as he signed the Declaration of Independence.

The Albany Congress of 1754, the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, and the First Continental Congress of 1774 were all held because the dangers which threatened the colonists were slowly forcing them to realize the necessity of union. Yet the Plan of Union proposed at Albany in 1754 was rejected by the colonies, and the congresses of 1765 and 1774 did little, except to draw up petitions and pass resolutions. Although they were very important in bringing the leaders of the people together and in preparing the way for united action, these congresses were not real governments in any sense.

It was very different with the second Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. This Congress became at once the government of the United Colonies. As we have already seen, it appointed Washington to command the army and named other generals to serve under him. It borrowed money, adopted the Declaration of Independence, sent agents to foreign countries, and did many other things which only a government can do. In a word, that Continental Congress was our first national government. It continued to manage our national affairs from 1775 to 1781.

As we had no written constitution during these years, the Continental Congress governed by common consent. It had all the power the people were willing to recognize and obey. During the first year or two of the Revolution the people looked up to the Continental Congress, and its authority was very great. The most influential men in the various states were sent to it. But after the new state governments were formed, the people more and more gave them the respect and obedience which at first they had shown the Continental Congress.

Early
attempts at
union

The second
Continental
Congress

Our govern-
ment under
the Conti-
nental Con-
gress

Some of the leading men now left the Congress to accept office in their own states. The states were well known and near at hand. The Congress was new and distant. The people began to distrust it, and the state governments grew jealous of its authority. Under these conditions its power steadily dwindled away.

The Articles of Confederation.—The members of the Continental Congress early saw the need of a written constitution which should tell them just how much power they really possessed. The same day that they appointed a committee to draw up the Declaration of Independence, they named another to draft a form of government. John Dickinson of Pennsylvania was the chairman of this committee, and the plan of government which it reported was, in the main, his work. A few days after the Declaration of Independence was adopted Dickinson laid the Articles of Confederation before the Congress. When they were adopted by that body and approved by all the states, these articles were to become the first written constitution of the United States.

It was no easy task to get the proposed plan of government adopted. The smaller states feared the growing power of the larger. New England and the southern section were jealous of each other. After discussing the Articles of Confederation, at intervals, for more than a year, the Continental Congress at last adopted them in November, 1777. It took more than three years longer to get all the states to ratify them. The chief reason for this delay grew out of a dispute about the ownership of the land between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River. Some of the states claimed this land by the terms of their colonial charters, and because of their efforts to settle it. But the states which had no such claims said that the western land was being won from the British and the Indians by the blood and the treasure of the people of all the states, and that it ought to be used for the benefit of all the people. Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until it was understood that the states claiming western land would give it up to the United States. At last this assurance was given, and in March, 1781, the Articles of Confederation became the law of the land. The United States was governed under these articles from 1781 to 1789.

Origin

The struggle
over their
adoption

The government established by the Articles of Confederation had very little real power. The governing body was a Congress made up of delegates from the several states. Each state had one vote. No important law could be passed without the consent of nine states, and the Articles of Confederation could not be changed in any way unless the amendment was agreed to by all the states. These provisions made it very difficult to get anything done. The Congress was given the power to make treaties with other countries, to declare war and to make peace, to establish post-offices, and to manage Indian affairs. But it could not tax the people, raise armies, or regulate commerce. If it wanted money or soldiers it asked the states for them. If the states did not furnish them the Congress could do nothing about it. It had no power to enforce its laws. The people soon learned, by bitter experience, their need of a stronger national government.

Nature of the government

The Critical Years of the Confederation, 1781-1789.—The Articles of Confederation went into effect the same year that Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown. For several years after 1781 it was doubtful whether the young nation, which had just won its freedom from Great Britain, would live or die. These years have been called the critical period in American history. We will first examine the perils which threatened our national life under the Articles of Confederation and then see how these dangers were averted.

A critical time

The first peril of the Confederation was poverty. The government needed money to pay the men who had furnished the army with supplies during the war, to pay the interest on the public debt and, most of all, to pay the long unpaid wages of the soldiers who were threatening to mutiny if something were not quickly done for them. The only ways in which a government can get money are by taxing the people and by borrowing. But our national government under the Articles of Confederation had no power to tax the people. It could only ask the states for the money it needed and then wait until the states levied and collected the taxes and paid the money to the United States. This the states usually failed to do. In 1782 and 1783, the Confederation received less than one dollar out of every six for which it asked. Nor was it any easier to borrow money. France and Holland had loaned money to the

Financial troubles

United States during the war, but they could not be expected to continue to supply us with money after the war was over. "Our public credit is gone. We can have no right to hope, much less to expect the aid of others while we show so much unwillingness to help ourselves," wrote Robert Morris to Washington.

Another danger to the welfare of the people grew out of the great lack of good money with which to carry on the business of the country. At the close of the Revolution the United

States had no coinage of its own. There were various kinds of foreign money in common use—English and French coins and Spanish silver money that had come into the country through trade with the West Indies. But most of the money in the United States, when the Revolution ended, consisted of paper notes issued at



Continental Paper Money

various times by the Continental Congress. If you will look at a piece of the paper money now in use you will see that it is not real money at all, but a promise to pay real money or coin. The value of a promise on a piece of paper money, like the value of any other promise, depends upon the ability and the willingness of its maker to fulfil it. As doubt of the ability of the United States to make good the large amount of Continental paper money issued during the Revolution grew in the minds of the people, that money steadily lost value. At one time it took \$2000 in this depreciated currency to buy a suit of clothes. At last, the paper money of the Revolution came to have almost no value at all. Even to this day, when we wish to say that something is utterly worthless we declare that it is "not worth a Continental."

Hard times
cause dis-
content

While the people managed to earn a living upon their farms or in their shops during the trying years of this critical period, it was very difficult for them to get enough money to pay their debts and their taxes. At this time several of the states made matters worse by issuing more paper money which depreciated

in value even more rapidly than the Continental currency. When men could not pay their debts, their property was seized and sold by the sheriff for the benefit of their creditors. Sometimes debtors who had no property were thrown into prison. It was natural that under such conditions there should be great uneasiness in the country and much grumbling against the government. Frequently this popular discontent broke out in lawlessness and rioting. In Massachusetts in 1786, Daniel Shays led a dangerous rebellion which seriously threatened the peace in that state.

Other causes than bad money and hard times seriously interfered with trade during those critical years. The Congress of the Confederation had no power to regulate commerce between the several states or with foreign countries. Each state could control its own trade just as it pleased. The states

**Selfishness
of the states**



A Continental Coin

Notice the motto: *Mind Your Business!*

were jealous of one another, and some of them set up custom houses on their borders at which they taxed the goods that came to their markets from the neighboring states. New York, for example, would not permit a cord of firewood from Con-

necticut or a boatload of provisions from the New Jersey farms across the Hudson to be brought into New York City until it had paid a duty. All these vexatious restrictions on trade increased the people's dissatisfaction with a national government that could do nothing to prevent such selfish practices by the states.

In foreign trade matters were no better. The Congress could make treaties of commerce with foreign nations but was without authority to enforce them. The commercial countries of the world were not eager to make treaties with a nation that was powerless to keep its word. Although the war with England was over, our relations with that country were far from friendly. We complained that England would not give up Detroit and the other rich fur-trading posts in the north-west, as she had promised in the Treaty of Paris. England replied that her merchants could not collect the debts which

**Foreign
commerce
failed to
prosper**

Americans owed them before the Revolution, as the United States promised in the same treaty that they might. The British government restricted our trade with England, and with her colonies in the West Indies, and the Congress of the Confederation was powerless to do anything about it. Because our government was too weak to protect our trade abroad, few new ships were built, and our foreign commerce declined for some years after the Revolution.

The men of the Revolution made the weak national government of the Confederation because they wanted most of the work of managing public affairs to be done by the states. Most of them loved their own states far more than they cared for the whole country. But the selfish conduct of the states, and the hard times and disorder throughout the country during the trying years just after the Revolution, quickly brought the more thoughtful leaders of the people to see that the nation could never prosper until it had a government strong enough to enforce obedience at home and respect abroad. Washington called the Congress of the Confederation "a half-starving, limping government, tottering at every step," and declared that the nation could not exist long without a government with greater power. Other influential men pointed out the need of a new government. James Madison of Virginia and Alexander Hamilton of New York, two young men who were to play a great part in the later history of the republic, were especially active in urging, with voice and pen, the making of a firmer Union. But the mass of the people were slow to act in the matter. In the meantime, several efforts to strengthen the Articles of Confederation, by amending them, failed because of the impossibility of getting the consent of all the states.

The Constitutional Convention, 1787.—In 1785, delegates from Maryland and Virginia met at Washington's home at Mount Vernon to settle a dispute between those states about navigation on the Potomac River. Aided by Washington's advice, an agreement was speedily reached. It was then suggested that, if two states could thus easily settle their differences about trade, it might be well for men from all the states to meet for the purpose of talking over the commercial troubles of the country. Presently Virginia asked the other states to send delegates to such a meeting at Annapolis. As only five

Wise men
saw the need
of a stronger
government

Convention
of 1787

states sent representatives to the Annapolis Convention of 1786, but little could be done by that body. Still, the men who came to Annapolis saw clearly the need of a national government with authority to regulate commerce, and they called for another convention to revise the Articles of Confederation. After some hesitation the Congress united with them in asking all the states to send delegates to such a meeting.



© Harris & Ewing

Mount Vernon
The home of George Washington on the Potomac.

The convention which drew up the Constitution of the United States met in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in May, 1787. All the states except Rhode Island were represented. Most of the leaders of the Revolution were present. Washington, the most trusted man in the land, was chosen president of the convention. Franklin, full of years and wisdom, and the two brilliant young leaders, Madison and Hamilton, were the three greatest men on the floor. Next to these four stood such men as John Dickinson, Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, the Pinckneys and John Rutledge of South Carolina, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, and William Paterson of New Jersey. Four prominent leaders of the Revolution were

**The men who
made the
Constitution**

upon the Hudson and the Delaware strongly resembled the English. Many of the Dutch were traders or merchants, while, as a rule, the Swedes were sturdy farmers.

The French Huguenots were a particularly desirable class of settlers and, in proportion to their numbers, they added a very great contribution to the making of our country. Nearly all of them came from the cities of France, where they were skilled workmen, merchants, or scholars. They brought with them to the new world their habits of industry, their keen intelligence, and their upright character. They have furnished a large number of leaders in every department of life in America.

The Germans who came to the colonies in such large numbers during the eighteenth century were a quiet, hard-working, frugal and thrifty race. They were very poor when they arrived in America, but their industrious habits soon brought them prosperity. They were a very religious people, honest in their dealings and contented in spirit. As we have seen, they wished to remain German and consequently they clung tenaciously to the customs, language, and literature of their fatherland.

There could hardly be a greater contrast than that between the plodding and peaceful Germans and the stern, aggressive, warlike Scotch-Irish, who came about the same time, and settled in the same parts of the country. The Scotch-Irish were a rugged and hardy race—energetic, steadfast, and liberty-loving. They were famous Indian fighters and did much to

win the western lands from the redmen. The Scotch-Irish were a religious people and strong believers in education, which they did much to foster in the colonies. Next to the English, they have probably had a greater influence upon America than any other race element in its population.

Besides these characteristics of their various races, our colonial ancestors brought with them to America a



Colonial Spinning Wheel and Loom

French
intelligence
and skill

German
industry and
thrift

Scotch-Irish
energy and
love of
liberty

Ideas of
industry

knowledge of the ways of making a living which prevailed in their old homes across the sea. Along with the common food plants, the domestic animals, and the simple farming tools of the old world, they brought a knowledge of the arts and crafts of their time. They could saw lumber, build houses and ships, make bricks, tan leather, spin and weave both flax and wool, and make a great many other things which were necessities then as now in every home.

Our colonial ancestors brought with them to America their ways of thinking, their opinions, and their prejudices. Many of their beliefs seem very superstitious to us. When the colonies were established, nearly all people still believed that the sun, the moon, and the stars revolve around the earth. These heavenly bodies were thought to exert great influence upon affairs. The right time to plant potatoes, to cut timber, to kill pigs, to cut hair, to take medicine, and to do many other things, was determined by the phases of the moon. Any unusual appearance in the sky, like a comet, was thought to be a sure sign of some coming disaster like pestilence or war.

The invisible world was a very real world to the colonists. They thought that angels and devils were all about them. There was a haunted house in nearly every community, and most people lived in fear of ghosts. The belief in witchcraft was as common in the colonies as it had long been in Europe. A witch was a person, usually an old woman, who was believed to have sold her soul to Satan in exchange for the power to do all sorts of harmful things. When butter would not come in the churn, or when pigs or cattle were sick, it was thought to be the work of witches.

Opinions and
superstitions



A Trial for Witchcraft

Witchcraft

and pass upon the new form of government. It had been agreed that when nine of the states ratified the Constitution it was to go into effect over the states ratifying it. The struggle to set up a stronger government in the United States was thus transferred from Independence Hall in Philadelphia to every community in the land.

Objections
to it

From the first the Constitution met with violent opposition. Some good men thought it was not democratic enough. Others said that it deprived the states of their rights and gave too much power to the national government. Jealousy between the various sections of the country also stood in the way. The East feared the growing West, and the agricultural South and commercial North were suspicious of each other. The ignorant feared a government which they did not understand. The timid and faint-hearted said, as such people always do, "Let well enough alone." One serious objection was the absence in the proposed constitution of a clear statement of the rights of the people. This last objection was overcome by an understanding that a Bill of Rights should be added to the Constitution. Later this was done in the first ten amendments to that document.

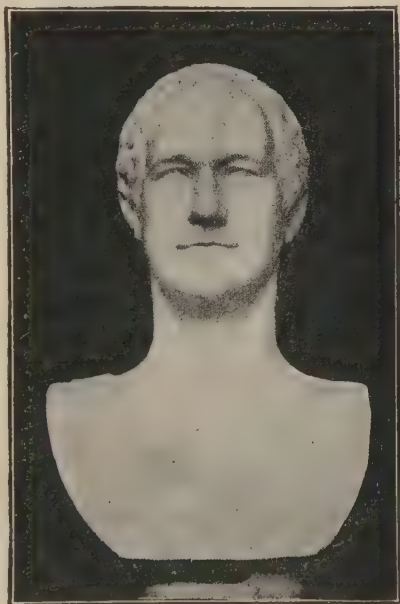
Its defenders

The friends of the Constitution defended it against these objections with ability and zeal. Public meetings were held to arouse popular interest in its ratification. The newspapers were filled with letters urging its adoption and showing how it would cure the evils from which the country was suffering under the Articles of Confederation. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay were most active in explaining and defending the form of government which it was proposed to set up. A series of papers called "The Federalist" which they wrote for this purpose is still the best explanation of the Constitution. In the end the arguments in favor of the Constitution won for it the support of the business interests of the country and of the more thoughtful men among the people. Those who favored its ratification called themselves Federalists, and those who opposed such action were known as Anti-Federalists.

Ratification

Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey led the way by ratifying the Constitution in December, 1787, and during the first half of 1788, one by one, most of the other states followed

their example. The closest contests were in Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York. In Massachusetts Samuel Adams, the great Revolutionary leader in the days before the war began, at first opposed the Constitution but changed his mind when he was convinced that the people of Boston favored its ratification. His support saved the day for the new government in Massachusetts. Virginia ratified by a close vote in spite of the violent opposition of Patrick Henry, the other great popular leader of the early Revolutionary period. In New York a convention opposed to the Constitution was won over to its support by the matchless skill in debate of Alexander Hamilton. Before the end of July, 1788, all the states except North Carolina and Rhode Island had ratified the Constitution which thus became the law of the land. A year or two later, North Carolina and Rhode Island fell into line thus completing the Union of all the states.



From the bust by Ceracchi.
Alexander Hamilton

The Constitution of the United States.—The purpose of the Constitution is best stated in the words of its preamble:

“We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

The
preamble

In the Constitution the people have given the lawmaking power to a Congress which is composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. There are two senators from each

Congress

state. Until 1913 the senators were chosen by the legislatures of the states. In that year an amendment to the Constitution was adopted, providing for their election by the direct vote of the people. The term of office of senators is six years. The members of the House of Representatives are elected by the people for a term of two years. The number of representatives from each state depends upon the number of its inhabitants. The Congress meets every year on the first Monday in December. The Vice-President of the United States presides over the



The National Capitol, Washington, D. C.
The meeting place of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives.

Senate. The House of Representatives elects one of its own members to be its presiding officer. He is called the Speaker. A proposed law is called a bill. Bills may be introduced into either house of Congress except that all bills for raising money must begin in the House of Representatives. After a bill has passed each house by a majority vote of those present, it is sent to the President for his approval. If the President signs the bill it becomes a law. If the President does not approve a bill which comes before him, he returns it with his objections to the house in which it originated. This act of the President is called a veto. Congress may then reconsider the bill, and if it passes a second time in each house by the votes of

**How laws
are made**

two-thirds of those present it becomes a law in spite of the President's veto. The Constitution also provides that if any bill is not returned by the President within ten week days after it is presented to him, it shall become a law unless Congress adjourns before the ten days have expired. You will notice that there are three different ways in which a bill before Congress may become a law.

When they made their Constitution, the people of the United States gave many important powers to Congress. It can lay and collect taxes, borrow money, regulate commerce with foreign nations and between the states, coin money and fix its value, and establish a postal system. Congress can declare war, raise and support armies, and provide and maintain a navy. It also has power to create all the United States courts, except a Supreme Court which is provided for in the Constitution itself. These are some of the more important powers of Congress, but it has many others.

Powers of Congress

The Constitution further strengthens the national government by forbidding the states to coin money, to make paper money, to lay taxes on imports or exports, to keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, to engage in war unless actually invaded, or to enter into any agreement with another state or with any foreign power. It will be remembered that many of the troubles of the critical years just before the Constitution was made grew out of the fact that, under the Articles of Confederation, the states did some of the things which they are forbidden to do in the Constitution.

Powers forbidden to the states

The Constitution provides for a President of the United States and makes it his duty to enforce the laws. The President is elected by presidential electors for a term of four years. Each state has as many presidential electors as it has senators and representatives in Congress. These electors are chosen in each state in such manner as its legislature may direct. For some time after the Constitution went into effect the presidential electors in many of the states were appointed by the legislatures themselves, but for many years they have all been elected by a direct vote of the people in the several states.

How the President is elected

The President is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He appoints all United States judges and many other officers of the national government, but these appointments

The duties of the President

must be approved by the Senate. He may pardon offenders against the laws of the United States. The President makes all treaties with foreign nations, but no treaty that he makes goes into effect until it has been ratified by the Senate by a vote of two-thirds of the senators present.



© Harris & Ewing

The Supreme Court of the United States in 1923

(Seated, left to right). Justice Van Devanter, Justice McKenna, Chief Justice Taft, Justice Holmes, Justice McReynolds. Standing. Justice Butler, Justice Brandeis, Justice Sutherland, Justice Sanford.

The power to interpret or explain the Constitution and the laws made by Congress and to decide cases that arise under them, is given to the United States courts. The Constitution provides for a Supreme Court, and Congress has established various lower courts. The judges in all these courts hold their offices for life or during good behavior. If Congress passes a law that it is not given the right to pass in the Constitution, the Supreme Court may declare such a law unconstitutional. After that no one can be required to obey the unconstitutional act.

The President, the judges, and various other United States officers may be removed from office at any time if they disobey

United
States
courts

Impeach-
ment

the laws or are guilty of other misconduct. Such removals are brought about in the following way. When a majority of the House of Representatives believe that an officer of the United States is guilty of wrongdoing, they may bring charges against him before the Senate. This is called impeachment. The impeached officer is then tried by the Senate, and if two-thirds of the senators find him guilty he must give up his office.

The people of the United States may change their Constitution whenever enough of them desire to do so. An amendment to the Constitution may be proposed by Congress by a vote of two-thirds of each house. There is another way of proposing amendments but it has never been used. A proposed amendment is sent to the states for their approval, and when ratified by three-fourths of the states it becomes a part of the Constitution. Nineteen amendments have been added to the Constitution since it first went into effect in 1789.

Amending
the Consti-
tution

The Constitution is the supreme law of the land. The states cannot make laws contrary to it, or contrary to the laws made by Congress under it. If they try to do so the judges will declare that their acts are void and no one will obey them. Every citizen must obey the Constitution and laws of the United States as well as those of his own state. If he does not, the national government will enforce its laws upon him. This is the great difference between the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution. Under the Articles of Confederation the United States made laws and asked the states to enforce them. If the states refused or neglected this request, as they often did, the national government was powerless. Under the Constitution the national government possesses ample power to enforce its own laws upon every person in the land.

The supreme
law of the
land

REFERENCES.

McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution*; Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*; Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. III; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. I; Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*; Ashley, *The Federal State*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. From Colonies to States. Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, 64-70.

2. Making the Articles of Confederation. Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. III, 448-456.
3. The Defects of the Articles of Confederation. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. III, 131-137.
4. How the States Treated the Confederation. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. III, 126-130.
5. Quarrels between the States. Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, 144-153.
6. Shays's Rebellion. McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution*, 154-167.
7. Washington's Views on the Situation in 1786. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. III, 188-191.
8. The Annapolis Convention. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. III, 185-187.
9. The Men Who Made the Constitution. Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, 224-249; Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. III, 205-211.
10. Virginia Ratifies the Constitution. McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution*, 298-305.
11. Massachusetts Ratifies the Constitution. Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, 318-331.
12. Hamilton's Defense of the Constitution. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. III, 242-246.
13. Rejoicing Over the Ratification of the Constitution. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. I, 492-496.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Francis Hopkinson, *The New Roof*.

Novels: Atherton, *The Conqueror*; Bellamy, *The Duke of Stockbridge*; Barr, *Trinity Bells*.

Biographies: Lodge, *George Washington*; Morse, *Benjamin Franklin*; Gay, *James Madison*; Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. What other nations than the United States have federal governments?
2. How would you make a constitution for a literary society in your school? Why should a society have a constitution?
3. When was the present constitution of your state made? How was it made? What is democratic government? Why are our state governments more democratic than they were just after the Revolution? How could they be made more democratic than they are now? Ought this to be done? Ought judges to be elected or appointed? Why?

4. Why is it easier for all our people to act together now than it was in the Revolution?

5. What were the defects of the Articles of Confederation? Why were these defects not corrected by amending the articles?

6. Write a clear account of the work of the Constitutional Convention.

7. Why did so many people oppose the ratification of the Constitution? Why did North Carolina and Rhode Island refuse to ratify the Constitution?

8. Memorize the preamble of the Constitution.

9. How are laws made under the Constitution? How are they enforced?

10. How may the Constitution be amended? How many times has it been amended? Give the provisions of the last four amendments.

X
exams

CHAPTER IX

WINNING A FOOTHOLD IN THE WEST

English
dominion
extended
to the
Mississippi

England Gains Control of the West.—We have seen how Marquette and La Salle explored the Mississippi River and claimed its valley for France. But beyond a few mission stations and trading posts the French never made good their claim to



Pontiac's Defiance

This great chieftain, who led the Indians against the English in 1763, scornfully offering terms of surrender to one of the garrisons on the western border.

this vast region by actual settlement. When the first settlers from the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard began to penetrate the wilderness of the Alleghany Mountains and trespass upon land claimed by the French, the French and Indian War was fought to determine the destiny of America. When it ended, the French empire in America was a thing of the past,

and England owned all the country east of the Mississippi River.

England soon found that it was one thing to win a title to the West and quite another to take possession of the country. The English troops had scarcely occupied Detroit and the other French posts in the northwest before they had to fight for their lives. Pontiac, one of the most crafty Indian warriors in American history, led the tribes of that region against the English garrisons, destroyed several of them, and was defeated only after a desperate Indian war. The story of the war has been told in a fascinating way by Francis Parkman, one of our greatest American historians, in his "Conspiracy of Pontiac."

Pontiac's war

The West which passed into the hands of England in 1763 was still a wilderness inhabited by wild beasts and Indians. There were a few little French villages like Detroit, Green Bay in Wisconsin, and Vincennes on the Wabash River, and some scattered French trappers and hunters in the forests. Practically, however, the whole region from the Alleghany Mountains to the Mississippi River was an Indian country, and England desired to keep it so for the present. In 1763 the British government forbade the governors of the colonies to give settlers titles for "any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest." But it was impossible for a government three thousand miles away to keep the land-hungry settlers away from the lands they coveted.

England fails to keep settlers out of the West

The First Pioneers beyond the Mountains.—As soon as the French and Indian War was over hardy frontiersmen began to cross the mountains, eager to occupy the newly won western lands. Some of them settled in the country near the forks of the Ohio, where Pittsburgh was founded in 1765. Others made their way up the Appalachian valleys into the mountain regions of Virginia and North Carolina. A few years later the boldest of these border settlers passed through the last gaps in the mountains, to become the pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee.

The westward movement

Daniel Boone was the most famous pioneer of Kentucky. His life was so like that of the other settlers upon the western border that the story of it will help us to understand

The story of Daniel Boone

them. Daniel Boone was born in Pennsylvania in 1734. His early life was spent upon what was then the frontier of that colony, and while still a boy he was a mighty hunter. He had little of the education that is gained from books but he knew and loved the wild woods and was skilled in all kinds of woodcraft.

When Daniel was about eighteen years old the Boones, like many other frontier families, moved to the southwest,

The
frontiers-
man



Daniel Boone

following the long valleys in the mountains, and at last settled in a new home on the Yadkin River in western North Carolina. Here Daniel Boone married, established a home of his own, and until he was thirty-five years of age lived like the other hardy, rugged, frontier farmers about him. He often went on long hunting trips into the wilderness west of the settlements, and had a taste of Indian fighting during the French and Indian War. At last the tales told by a wandering fur trader about a beautiful country called Kentucky, a land of countless deer, buffaloes, and wild

turkeys, led Boone and five other hunters to go in quest of it.

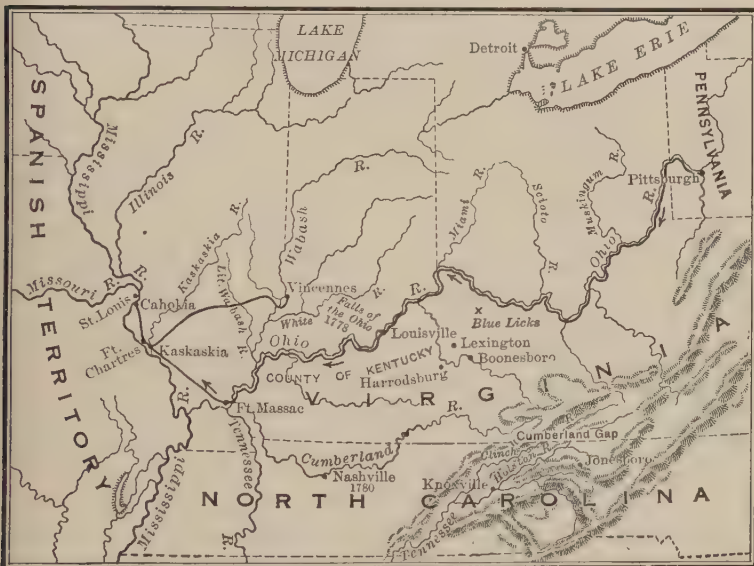
In 1769 Daniel Boone, with his five companions, crossed the mountains and found his way through the Cumberland Gap into the valley of the Kentucky River. He spent the next two years in Kentucky, hunting, trapping, and exploring the country. During this first long visit to Kentucky Boone had many strange and exciting adventures. Once he lived all alone in the wilderness for three months "without bread, salt, or sugar, without company of fellow creatures, or even a horse or dog." Boone was so pleased with the beautiful Kentucky

Boone in
Kentucky

country that he resolved to bring his family to it and make it his future home.

In 1773 Daniel Boone and several of his neighbors started with their families for Kentucky, but an Indian war party which killed Boone's oldest son stopped them for a time. It was not until April, 1775, less than two weeks before the fight at Lexington and Concord, that Boone and his followers reached their destination and began the settlement of Boonesborough on

Settlement
of Kentucky



The West at the Time of the Revolution

the bank of the Kentucky River. Harrodsburg and two or three other early Kentucky settlements were established about the same time. The leading pioneers of Kentucky were nearly all men of sturdy Scotch-Irish stock. As their numbers grew they cleared and cultivated the land, brought domestic animals from the older settlements, planted fruit trees, and slowly changed Boone's hunting ground into a land of homes and farms.

The pioneers of Tennessee were very much like those of Kentucky. The first white settler entered eastern Tennessee in 1769. During the next three or four years more frontiers-

The
founders of
Tennessee

men came, and many cabins were built in the valleys of the Watauga and Holston rivers. James Robertson and John Sevier were the leaders in the Watauga Settlement, as it is called. Robertson was a quiet man of little education but of great natural ability and energy. Sevier was a handsome young Virginian of good education, eager, ambitious, and very popular. Both of them were mighty hunters, fearless explorers, and famous Indian fighters. In 1779 James Robertson moved two hundred miles farther west and founded the present city of Nashville upon the Cumberland River. He is often called the Father of Tennessee.

Savage foes

Border Warfare in the Revolution.—The first frontiersmen beyond the Alleghany Mountains lived with their rifles ever at hand for they were in constant peril of Indian attack. For ten years after the close of Pontiac's war in 1764 there was nominal peace between the red men and the white, yet even then outbreaks between the two races were not uncommon. Two great groups of Indian tribes threatened the western border: those north of the Ohio River, among whom the Shawnees were conspicuous, and the southern Indians, of whom the Cherokees were the special foes of the pioneers in eastern Tennessee. Kentucky was the hunting ground of both the northern and the southern Indians, and many a grim fight between them had taken place in its forests. In the language of the Indians Kentucky means the "dark and bloody ground."

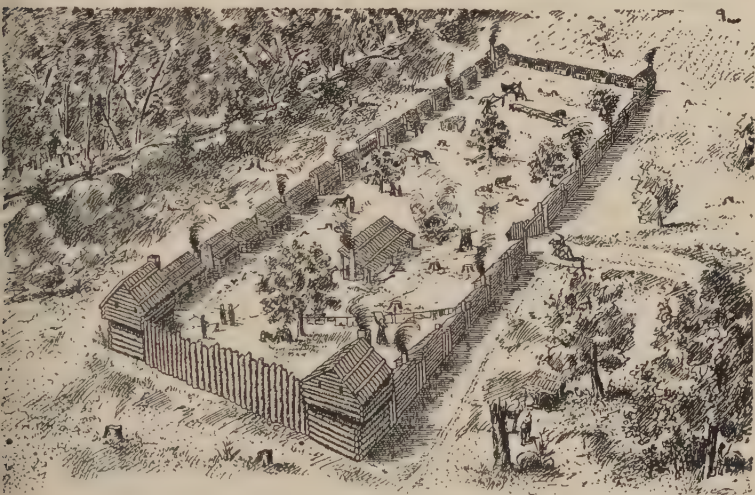
Dunmore's
war

The northern Indians looked on in alarm as the pioneers of western Pennsylvania and Virginia began to cut down the forests and destroy the game of their hunting grounds. In 1774 their war parties began to harry the settlements in this region with fire and slaughter. Some of the settlers were killed, while others fled east of the mountains or gathered in the log forts which they had built for defense. Governor Dunmore of Virginia promptly made war upon the Indians, who were defeated in a fierce fight upon the Great Kanawha River and forced to make peace. It was just after Dunmore's war ended that the first settlements in Kentucky were planted.

The
southern
border

Soon after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the British began to incite the Indians to attack the American frontiersmen. The tribes in the South were the first to strike. Early in 1776 war bands of Cherokees fell upon the outlying

frontier settlements in eastern Tennessee, South Carolina, and Georgia. The cabins were burnt, the live stock driven off, and the men, women, and children massacred. The southern frontiersmen flew to arms, and before the close of 1776 they inflicted such punishment upon the Cherokees that it was several years before their tribe ventured upon the warpath again. During these years the border settlers were steadily



The Settlement at Boonesborough

From an old print.

growing stronger and better able to hold their own against the red men.

At first the Indians on the northern border, who had not forgotten their defeat in 1774, were not eager to renew the fighting. But they were soon stirred up by the British agents, and during 1777 and 1778 the entire western frontier of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the infant settlements in Kentucky suffered terribly from the tomahawk and the scalping-knife. Thriving settlements in the Wyoming Valley in northern Pennsylvania and in the Cherry Valley in central New York were ruined by raiding parties of Indians and Tories. We have already seen how General Sullivan punished the Iroquois Indians for their part in these massacres.

In Kentucky the backwoodsmen gathered for protection

**The
northern
border**

**Frontier
stations**

in the fortified stations like Boonesborough and Harrodsburg. Both of these places were repeatedly besieged by the Indians but always managed to beat off their assailants. It is probable, however, that in the end all the Kentucky settlements would have been destroyed had it not been for the heroic exploit of George Rogers Clark.

**George
Rogers Clark**

How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest.—George Rogers Clark was a young Virginian who became one of the early pioneers in Kentucky. Like Boone, Clark loved the wild life of the border. Like Sevier, he was a born leader of men, tall and strong, with "a penetrating, sparkling eye," daring, ambitious, and far-seeing. In the importance of his service to the new nation Clark was destined to surpass all the other border heroes of his time.

**Indians
north of the
Ohio**

The vast region north of the Ohio River was the home of warlike Indian tribes. Here and there were a few old French towns like Kaskaskia on the Mississippi and Vincennes on the Wabash River, and a few British military posts like Detroit. These villages and military stations were the centers of British influence in the Northwest. There the Indians were furnished with supplies and incited to take the warpath against the American frontier settlers. Because George Rogers Clark knew these facts he resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, capture the French towns, and win the Northwest from the British.

**Clark's
expedition**

Clark returned from Kentucky to Virginia in the fall of 1777 and laid his plan before Governor Patrick Henry who approved it and advanced some money to carry it out. In the spring of 1778 Clark left the settlements on the Monongahela River at the head of one hundred and fifty Virginia frontiersmen. His men were clad in buckskin hunting shirts and carried long flint-lock rifles. In their clumsy flatboats they drifted silently down the Monongahela and the Ohio, past long reaches of Indian-haunted forest, until they reached the falls in the latter river, where the city of Louisville now stands. Here they built a fort and planted a crop of corn. Then Clark went on down the Ohio with a small force of picked men until they passed the mouth of the Tennessee. Leaving the boats at this point he led his men straight across the country to Kaskaskia, which he surprised and captured without striking a

blow. Soon the other French towns on the Mississippi were in his hands, and a little later Vincennes acknowledged his authority. When the French inhabitants in this region found that Clark meant to treat them justly they gladly took an oath of loyalty to the United States.

When Hamilton, the British commander of the Northwest, heard of Clark's conquests north of the Ohio, he advanced from Detroit to Vincennes, where he spent the winter. It was the British leader's intention to renew the campaign in the spring,

The capture
of Vincennes



Clark's Virginians Crossing the Drowned Lands

drive the Americans out of the Northwest Territory, and then lead a strong force of British and Indians against the settlements in Kentucky. But George Rogers Clark was not the man to await attack. He struck first, sure, and hard. Leaving Kaskaskia early in February, 1779, he led his men in a march of almost incredible difficulty across lands flooded by the spring freshets and forced the surrender of the British garrison at Vincennes. There was great rejoicing among the frontiersmen at the news that the "hair-buyer" general, as Hamilton was called, was a prisoner.

The importance of Clark's daring and heroic exploit can hardly be overestimated. It not only saved the infant settle-

**The
Northwest
Territory**

ments in Kentucky from destruction at the hands of the British and the Indians, but it won the vast Northwest Territory for the United States. The British claimed all the country north of the Ohio. By the Quebec Act of 1774 they had made this vast region,—the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, a part of the province of Quebec. If they had been in actual possession of all this territory it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to get them to give it up at the close of the Revolution. But when Franklin, Adams, and Jay were negotiating the treaty of peace with Great Britain they could claim the Northwest Territory on the ground that a large part of it was in the actual possession of their countrymen. It is probable that the conquest of this territory by George Rogers Clark made the Great Lakes instead of the Ohio River the northern boundary of the United States.

**The land
claims of the
states**

Rival Claims and Land Cessions.—The Mississippi River was the western boundary of the United States at the close of the Revolution. But, as we have seen, there was a dispute between the states about the ownership of the land west of the Alleghany Mountains. Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia each claimed to own the land due west of it because its original charter had defined its territory as extending from “sea to sea.” Virginia also claimed the land north of the Ohio River because its charter of 1609 said that its territory extended from “sea to sea, west and northwest.” Virginia further held that the Northwest Territory was hers by right of conquest since George Rogers Clark was a Virginia soldier and the expenses of his expedition had been paid out of the treasury of that state. New York claimed some of the western land, on the ground that the Iroquois Indians had ceded it to her by treaty, but such a claim had little value. The accompanying map will make these claims clear. It will be noticed that Massachusetts and Connecticut on the one hand and Virginia on the other were rival claimants to part of the land north of the Ohio River.

**Western
land ceded
to the United
States**

New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, the six states having no claims in the West, urged that the land in question ought to be given to the United States to be used for the benefit of all the people.



You will remember that Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until assured that this would be done. At various times between 1784 and 1802 all the land, except Kentucky, west of the thirteen original states as they exist today, was ceded to the United States by the states claiming it. Kentucky remained a county of Virginia until it was admitted into the Union as a state.

When the land in the West was ceded to the United States it became the duty of the national government to devise a plan for giving titles for their farms to the pioneers who settled upon the new public domain, and to set up territorial governments as the need for them arose. We will next inquire how these two things were done.

The Public Land System.—A deed is a paper in which a man is given the title to a piece of land by its former owner. At first all the land in the English colonies belonged to the king by right of discovery. The first settlers upon the land in the colonies received the deeds, which gave them titles to their farms, from the colonial governors who represented the king or in some cases the proprietors to whom the king had granted the land. At the time of the Revolution all the land in each colony which had not yet passed into private hands became the property of the state, and settlers upon it must get their titles from the state government. When the western land was given to the United States by the states claiming it, the pioneers who settled upon it must look to the national government for their land titles. **Early land titles**

A deed contains a description of the land which it conveys from one person to another. But before land can be accurately described it must be carefully surveyed. This was rarely done on the frontier where each settler was usually his own surveyor and marked the limits of the land which he claimed by blazing the trees with his axe. This practice made the farms very irregular in size and shape and often left patches of land which nobody wanted. As two or more men frequently claimed the same land the history of the early frontier is filled with disputes and lawsuits over land titles. **Primitive surveying**

In order to avoid such troubles in the new national domain Congress passed an act in 1785 which provided a simple and accurate method of surveying the government land and **Surveying the public domain**

disposing of it to settlers. Under this plan the surveyors of the government first established a north and south line, which was called the principal meridian, and crossed this with an east and west line, which was called the base line. Starting from the principal meridian and the base line the surveyors next divided the public land into square blocks by drawing parallel lines due north and south and crossing these with parallel lines running east and west. As all these lines were drawn six miles apart they cut the country up into blocks each six miles square. Such a block of land was called a township. Each township was similarly marked off like a checkerboard into squares one mile on each side. A square mile of land thus

marked was called a section, and contained six hundred and forty acres. The sections in each township were numbered as shown in the diagram on this page. Each section was divided into quarters, which could easily be subdivided by the surveyors if necessary.

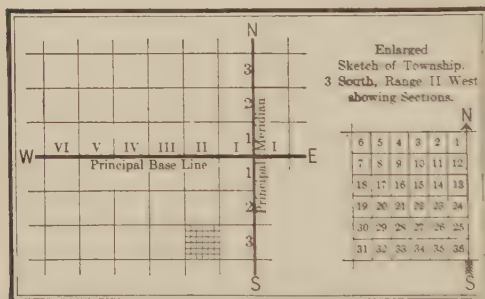


Diagram Explaining Public Land System

This plan has been followed in surveying all the public land in the United States, and accounts for the fact that townships and counties in the western states are usually square or rectangular instead of having the irregular shapes so common in the original thirteen states.

After the public land was surveyed according to this plan a man who desired to settle upon it first located the particular piece of land which he wanted, noting the township and section in which he found it, and then went to a public land office and paid the small price per acre which the government asked for its land. He was then given a deed by the United States which made him owner of the land. By this plan each farm could be accurately described in the deed and there was no danger that the same land would be sold to more than one settler. In

How the
settler
secured his
land

each township one section of land, usually the sixteenth, was set apart for the support of public schools. Most of our western states now have permanent school funds derived from the sale of land thus reserved for educational purposes.

The Ordinance of 1787.—When people began to settle upon the western land, which had been given to the United States by the states, it became the duty of the nation to provide a government for their protection. This was done for the first time by the famous Ordinance of 1787, which created a government for the Northwest Territory, as the vast region north of the Ohio River was called. At first this territory was governed by a governor, a secretary, and three judges appointed by Congress. When there were five thousand free men in the territory they were permitted to elect a house of representatives to help make their laws. The Ordinance of 1787 also provided for the division of the Northwest Territory into not less than three nor more than five states, and said that when each of these states had sixty thousand free inhabitants it must be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states. In the course of time the great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin grew up in the territory organized under this law.

A govern-
ment for the
Northwest
Territory

The Ordinance of 1787 laid the foundations of government by the people in the Northwest Territory. It said that the settlers in that region should always be represented in the body which made their laws and have freedom of worship and the right of trial by jury. It forbade slavery and declared that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Freedom and
education

The Ordinance of 1787 was one of the greatest laws ever passed in America, not only because it gave free, democratic institutions to the Northwest Territory, but even more because it was a pattern for the numerous other territorial governments which were organized from time to time by the United States, as the frontier steadily moved westward across the continent to the Pacific. It meant that as the western territory was settled it should be organized into states, each of which should have all the rights that the older states in the East possessed. The passage of this law marks the beginning of a territorial

Our
territorial
policy

policy under which the Union has grown from the thirteen states of the Revolutionary period to the forty-eight states of the present day.

The Growth of Western Settlement.—Neither the hardship of pioneer life nor fear of the Indians kept the people from flocking toward the western frontier during the Revolution and the critical years which followed its close. Times were hard

The western frontier



The Frontier Just After the Revolution

in the new nation, and the more daring and ambitious men sought the border where good land could be had almost for the taking. The frontier of those days ran in a great curve from northern New England through central New York, western Pennsylvania and Virginia, into Kentucky and Tennessee, and thence fell back into western South Carolina and middle Georgia. Much of this frontier was within the limits of the old

states. Vermont was added to the Union as the fourteenth state in 1791, and Kentucky and Tennessee were the first states west of the Alleghany Mountains.

We have seen how the earliest settlements in Kentucky were in constant peril of destruction by the British and the Indians. After George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Northwest removed this danger a stream of settlers poured across the mountains into that beautiful region. In spite of occasional raids by the Indians the log cabins of the pioneers were built farther and farther into the wilderness, and the forest.

The growth of Kentucky

around these frontier homes fell before the axes of the woodsmen. From the beginning the settlers in Kentucky managed their own local affairs. Their land was a part of the country claimed by Virginia and was never ceded by that state to the United States. Kentucky remained a county of Virginia until 1792 when it was admitted into the Union as a state.

The growth of early Tennessee was very much like that of Kentucky. Occasional war parties of Cherokees were beaten

off and sometimes severely punished by the frontiersmen under those matchless Indian fighters, Sevier and Robertson. The settlers of the Watauga Valley early set up a local government of their own and in 1784 they organized a state which they called Franklin. But North Carolina, which claimed the Tennessee country, objected to this action and the plan for the new state had to be given up. In 1790 North Carolina ceded Tennessee to the nation. It was then made a United States territory, and in 1796 it became the sixteenth state in the Union.

Early
Tennessee



General ("Mad") Anthony Wayne

The presence of several strong and warlike Indian tribes in the country north of the Ohio River which is now the state of Ohio, delayed the settlement of that region for some years. The first settlement in Ohio was made at Marietta in 1788 by the Ohio Company, a land company which had bought from Congress a great tract of land on the Muskingum River. The settlements in Ohio grew slowly at first because of the continued hostility of the Indians. In

Settlement
in Ohio

1791 General St. Clair led an army against the tribes in the Ohio country. St. Clair was a brave man, but he proved to be a poor Indian fighter. The red men attacked him in the woods and killed or wounded more than two-thirds of his troops.

Wayne's
victory over
the Indians

After St. Clair's disastrous defeat General Anthony Wayne, one of the best soldiers of the Revolution, was sent to Ohio to carry on the war against the Indians. Wayne was a bold and dashing fighter and at the same time a prudent and resourceful leader. After careful preparation he marched against the Indians in 1794, defeated them in the "Battle of the Fallen Timber," and the following year forced them to sign a treaty in which they gave up all their claims to southern and eastern Ohio. After the Indian power was thus broken, so many settlers flocked across the Ohio River that in 1803 Ohio was admitted into the Union as a state.

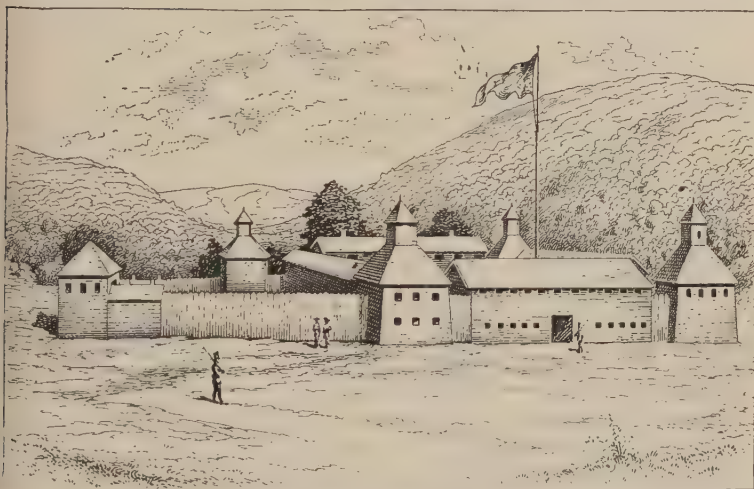
The journey
to the West

Life on the Frontier.—Pioneer life on the western border of Pennsylvania and Virginia or in the more remote outposts of settlement in Kentucky and Tennessee was everywhere much alike. The journey of a settler's family to its new home in the wilderness was attended by hardship and danger. As a rule a group of families moved together for mutual protection. They could take little with them. A few cooking utensils and some rolls of bedding were carried on pack-horses. The men, rifle in hand, drove the pack-horses or marched in front or at the side of the trail to guard against Indian attack. If cattle were taken it was the duty of the boys to drive them. Sometimes the women and younger children rode on horseback, but oftener they walked. As soon as roads were opened through the woods, wagons were used to carry the women, small children, and household goods. Many of the settlers along the Ohio River in Kentucky and in the Northwest Territory made their way in this fashion to Pittsburgh or Wheeling. At these places they bought or built flat boats large enough to carry all their possessions. Upon these rude boats they floated down the river until they reached the neighborhood of their future homes.

Early homes
on the
border

When the frontiersman reached the land which he intended to make his own, he first built a shelter for his family. Sometimes this was only a rude hut built of poles and covered with grass or bark, but if there were other settlers near at hand

to help raise the heavy logs, a substantial cabin was erected. Its roof was made of split boards or shingles held in place by laying stones upon them. Sometimes the cabin had no floor but the earth tramped hard; oftener the floor was made of puncheons. The chinks between the logs were filled with clay. At one end of the single room was a fireplace with its chimney of stone or sticks plastered with clay. The frontier cabin contained little furniture except a few homemade stools and benches and a rude table. Usually there was a loft above in



Fort Washington, Cincinnati, Ohio

which the boys slept. Bear skins and deer hides were much used for bedding.

When the Indians threatened war the frontiersmen abandoned the cabins in their clearings and came together in a station or wooden fort which they had built for their protection. These forts were square palisades of upright logs, with strong blockhouses at the corners and cabins on one or more sides of the square. They were provided with great barred doors or gates, and there was usually room inside the enclosure for the horses and cattle of the settlers. The picture on this page will help you to understand what a frontier fort was like. If such a fort was defended by brave and resolute men it was almost impossible for the Indians to take it unless they could

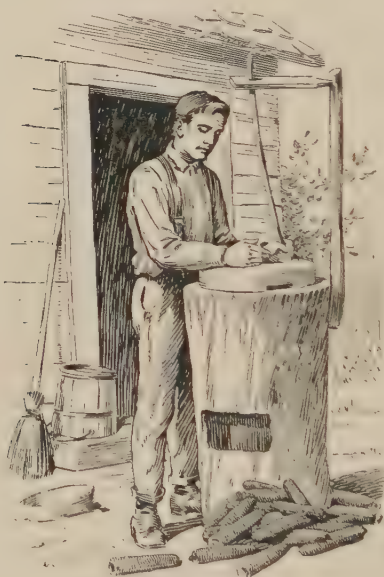
Frontier
forts

surprise the garrison or set fire to the buildings. The inmates of the fort were continually on their guard against these two dangers.

Danger and toil The life on the frontier was one of constant peril. It was also a life filled with hard work. The men attacked the surrounding forest with their axes. At first there were only little clearings around the cabins, but year by year these clearings grew as the great trees were cut down and burned. Orchards were planted, and in time cultivated fields surrounded the homes of the pioneer farmers. The women were even busier

than the men, for they prepared all the food and made all the clothing for their large families. The spinning wheel and loom were found in almost every home. But in spite of the danger and toil of their rough lives our pioneer ancestors were probably quite as happy as we are today.

At first all the frontiersmen were farmers or hunters and trappers. As time passed and more settlers came, a few little straggling villages appeared. The frontier village grew up around a store and a tavern, and possibly contained a log schoolhouse and a little



A Hand Mill for Grinding Corn

church. Money was very scarce in the new settlements and barter was the common form of trade. It was very difficult to bring goods from the East across the mountains, but a few much-needed articles like salt and iron were brought in on pack-horses, which returned to the eastern cities laden with the rich peltries of the wilderness.

Home Industries Each pioneer family made at home nearly all the utensils, furniture, clothing, and tools that it possessed. Corn was ground into meal in a rude hand mill, and coarse linen was

Growth

made from home-grown flax or from the bark of the wild nettle. Even the long rifle, the famous weapon which the frontiersmen used with such deadly skill, was made in the backwoods.

But with all its hard work and danger the life of the early pioneers was not without its amusements. There were hunting expeditions, horse races, and log-rollings or corn-huskings in which neighbors met to help each other with their work and sometimes stayed to dance in the evening. The frontier weddings were always times of feasting and of much boisterous merriment. Amusements

There was little opportunity for education in the backwoods and some of the greatest frontiersmen never attended school. Daniel Boone once wrote that he had "cilled a bar" and Robertson was taught to read and spell by his wife, who was an educated woman. In some of the settlements little log schoolhouses were built in which the children were taught to read, write, and cipher. At first there was even less opportunity for the early settler to attend church than to go to school. But heroic ministers who followed the frontiersmen into the wilderness kept religious worship alive and in the course of time established churches in the new land. The first schools

The men who first penetrated the western wilderness and founded the first states beyond the Alleghany Mountains were largely of Scotch-Irish stock. Mingled with these Scotch-Irishmen, however, were many settlers of English or German descent and a few with French Huguenot names. But whatever their origin, the pioneers who won the first states in the West from the wilderness and the savages were hardy, self-reliant men of great physical endurance, dauntless courage, and iron will. Only such men could survive the privations and dangers on the frontier. The constant perils in the midst of which they lived made the frontiersmen stern and harsh, and in their treatment of the Indians, often ruthless and vindictive. But in their relations with each other the first settlers of the West were helpful and neighborly, and in their ideas about government they were the most democratic people in America. The character of the settlers

We owe a great debt to the men and women who first won a foothold in the West. In spite of difficulties and perils that might well appall the stoutest heart, they opened the way into the Mississippi valley and began the westward march. Our debt to the pioneers

CHAPTER X

THE FEDERALIST PERIOD

Review

The first
presidential
election

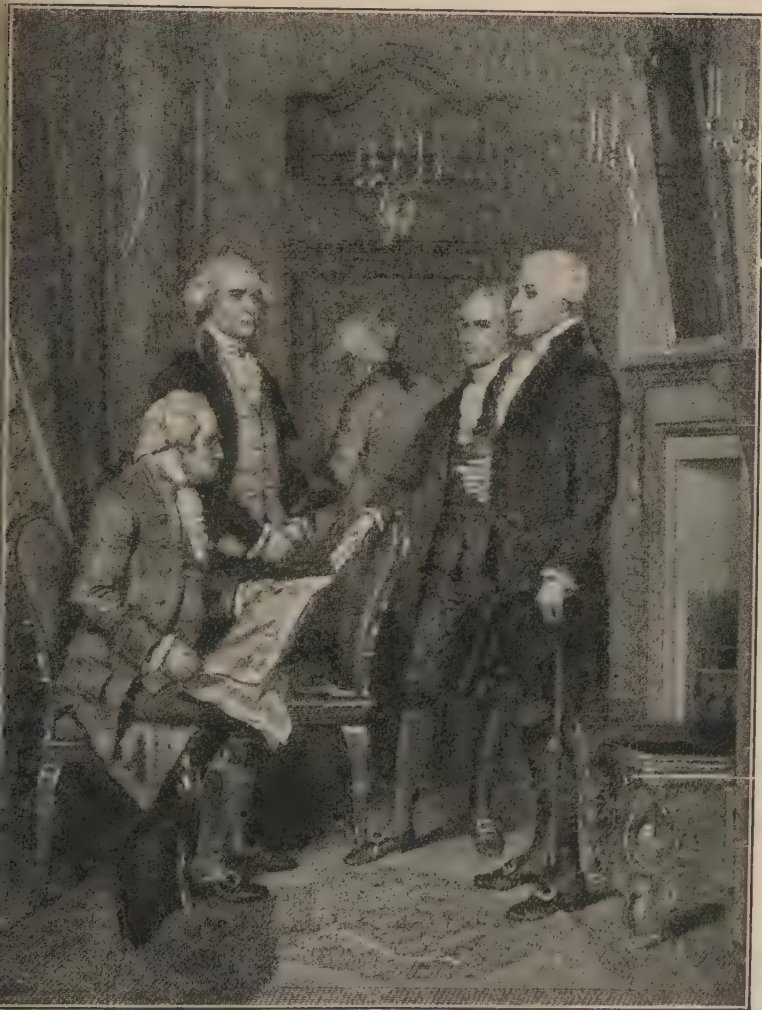
Starting the Government.—As soon as enough states had ratified the Constitution to make it the law of the land, a day was set for the election of a congress and a president. Each state elected its senators and representatives and appointed the presidential electors who were to choose the president. There was no doubt about the man upon whom their choice would fall. Every elector voted for Washington because he was the most loved and trusted man in America. John Adams was made the first vice-president.

Washington
inaugurated

The fourth of March, 1789, was the day appointed for the organization of the new government, but traveling was slow and difficult in those days and it was April before a quorum of Congress reached New York which was then the capital of the nation. The first work of Congress was to count the electoral votes and to send a message posthaste to Mount Vernon to notify Washington of his election. The president elect started at once for New York. His journey thither was a triumphal procession. At Philadelphia the church bells rang, at Trenton girls strewed flowers in his path, and the night he reached New York the sky was red with bonfires. On April 30th, on the balcony of Federal Hall, Washington took the oath of office in the presence of a great crowd which shouted, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States."

The Cabinet

Congress next established executive departments to aid the president in his work. Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, his first secretary of state. Alexander Hamilton, who had worked so hard to secure the ratification of the Constitution, was made the first secretary of the treasury. General Henry Knox who commanded the artillery in Washington's army during the Revolution became secretary of war, and Edmund Randolph of Virginia was named as the first attorney-general.



The First Cabinet

From left to right—President Washington; Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State; Henry Knox, Secretary of War; Edward Randolph, Attorney-General; Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury.

President Washington soon began to ask these men to meet with him from time to time to talk over the public business.

This was the beginning of the president's cabinet. Since Washington was president the cabinet has grown from four members to ten by the appointment of a postmaster-general, and secretaries of the navy, interior, agriculture, commerce, and labor.

The judicial department of the government was the last to be organized. The Constitution says that the judicial power shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such lower courts as Congress shall establish. Before the close of 1789 Congress had created circuit and district courts below the Supreme Court. One of President Washington's duties was to appoint the judges of all the United States courts. John Jay of New York was made the first chief justice of the Supreme Court.

United
States
courts

✓ **Putting the Finances of the Nation in Sound Condition.—**

When Washington became president the United States had an empty treasury and a large public debt which had been incurred during the Revolution. The credit of the country was at its lowest ebb. The first need of the new government was money to meet its running expenses and to pay the interest on the public debt. One of the first laws passed by Congress was an act laying a duty or tax upon various articles imported into the United States. A list of dutiable goods with the rate of tax upon each is called a tariff. A tariff act is a law making such a list, though we often use the word tariff to express the rate of duty upon imported goods as, for example, when we speak of a "high tariff" or a "low tariff." The average rate of duty laid by the tariff act of 1789 was only a little more than eight per cent, a very low tariff in comparison with the one we have at present.

The need
of money

The tariff

Direct and
indirect
taxes

A tax is a sum of money paid by the citizen for the support of the government. It may be direct or indirect. A direct tax is a tax which must be paid by the person upon whom it is assessed, such as a tax upon a house which a man owns and lives in. An indirect tax is one which the taxpayer shifts upon others, as when an importer or manufacturer adds the tax which he has paid, upon the goods he imports or makes, to their price when he sells them and in this way makes his customers pay it. From 1789 until the last few years it was the policy of the United States to raise nearly all its revenue by indirect taxes.

In 1791, at the suggestion of Hamilton, Congress laid a tax of a few cents a gallon upon all liquor distilled in the United States. Such a tax upon goods made within the country is called an excise or internal revenue tax. The excise law of 1791 was very unpopular everywhere, but it was especially hated in western Pennsylvania. The farmers of that region had no market for their grain. It cost too much to haul it to the eastern seaports and the Spaniards who controlled New Orleans had closed the Mississippi to their trade. But the

The excise

whiskey which they made out of their corn and rye found a ready market at home or in the settlements down the Ohio River.

Under these conditions the people of western Pennsylvania thought that the excise was very unjust, and in 1794 they refused to pay it and drove away the men sent to collect it. A second officer was soundly flogged. Washington promptly sent several thousand militia to restore order and collect the tax. This show of force was



The Whiskey Insurrection

Flogging a Revenue Officer

sufficient, and the troops met with no resistance. The collapse of the Whiskey Insurrection, as the uprising against the excise law in western Pennsylvania is called, taught our people the wholesome lesson that at last they had a government with power to enforce the laws which their own representatives had made.

Soon after Washington became president, Congress asked the secretary of the treasury to suggest a plan for the payment of the debt contracted during the Revolution. Hamilton found that the United States owed about \$40,000,000 to its own people and nearly \$12,000,000 more in France, Holland, and Spain. A national debt of \$52,000,000 would not seem very large now, but it was an enormous sum in those days. For a long time the creditors of the government had been clamoring in vain for their pay. The people had lost faith in

The national debt

the ability of the nation to pay what it owed and many of them had sold the notes and other certificates of debt which they held for one-fourth of their face value. It was Hamilton's task to restore the financial honor and good name of his country.

Hamilton's
policy

Hamilton's plan was to borrow enough money by selling new bonds of the government to pay all the old debt. At first there was much opposition to this proposal. Every one agreed that the foreign debt ought to be paid in full, but many men thought that the owners of the depreciated notes of the government at home ought to receive only the amount which they had paid for them. But Hamilton persuaded Congress that the only honest course for the nation to take was to keep its word by paying all that it had promised to pay. He succeeded in getting the rich men of the country to buy the new bonds, and with the money thus obtained he paid the old debts. As the new bonds were not due for many years the government gained time in which to save enough money out of the taxes to pay them when they matured.

The state
debts
assumed

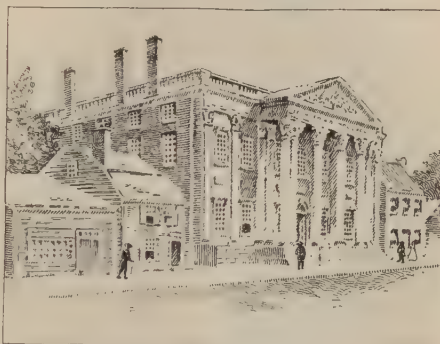
At this time some of the states were heavily in debt. Hamilton next proposed that the debts of the states should be paid by the United States. He said this ought to be done because the states got into debt by fighting for the common cause during the Revolution. He knew also that the assumption of the state debts would add to the influence and authority of the national government, whose power he wished to exalt. There was much opposition to this proposal, especially in the South where the state debts were much smaller than those of the northern states. It happened that just at this time Congress was considering the permanent location of the national capital. Both sections wanted it. A deal was made by which enough southern representatives voted to assume the state debts to carry that proposal and in return enough northern men voted for a southern capital to locate it in that section. It was agreed that the national capital should be in Philadelphia from 1790 until 1800 and that then it should be moved to a district ten miles square upon the banks of the Potomac. This was the origin of the District of Columbia.

Public credit
established

The first effect of Hamilton's plan for paying the debts was to win for the new government the gratitude of all the creditors of the nation and of the states. All these people

were kindly disposed toward a government which paid them in full the money which they had almost lost hope of ever seeing again. What is even more important, all the rich and influential men who bought the new bonds of the nation became the warm friends and supporters of the government under the Constitution, because the value of their investments depended upon its success. In these ways Hamilton's policy restored the credit of the nation and helped establish its new government in the confidence of the people.

At Hamilton's suggestion a mint was established in Philadelphia at which the United States began to coin its own money. He also proposed the creation of a national bank to help the government collect and pay out money, to care for its cash on hand, and to issue bank notes which the people used as paper money. In spite of great opposition this proposal was carried in 1791, and



The first Bank of the United States

The First Bank of the United States

the first Bank of the United States was set up in Philadelphia with branches in other cities. This bank did much to win the business men of the country to the support of the new government. Our country owes a great debt to Alexander Hamilton for putting its finances on a sound basis. His work was so well done that a large part of the financial business of our government is still carried on very much as he planned it.

The Beginning of Political Parties.—Almost every measure that Hamilton proposed in his effort to restore the financial credit of the country was vigorously opposed in Congress and among the people. In the struggle which resulted in the adoption of his plans we find the beginning of political parties in the United States. A political party is a part of the people who hold the same opinions upon public questions and who work together in politics to make these opinions the policy of

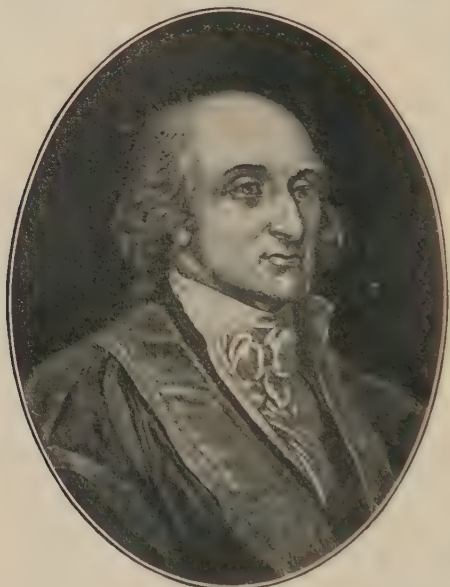
What is a political party?

the government. We have usually had two great political parties in our history and sometimes one or more smaller ones.

Our first
parties

The Federalists and the Republicans were our first great national parties under the Constitution. The Federalists followed Hamilton and favored the adoption of his plans. The men who opposed Hamilton's financial measures, like the assumption of the state debts and the establishment of a national bank, were led by Thomas Jefferson. They called

themselves Republicans, though they were often called Democratic-Republicans. The early Republican party of Jefferson's time must not be confused with the Republican party of the present which was organized in 1854 to oppose the further extension of slavery.



Federalists

John Jay

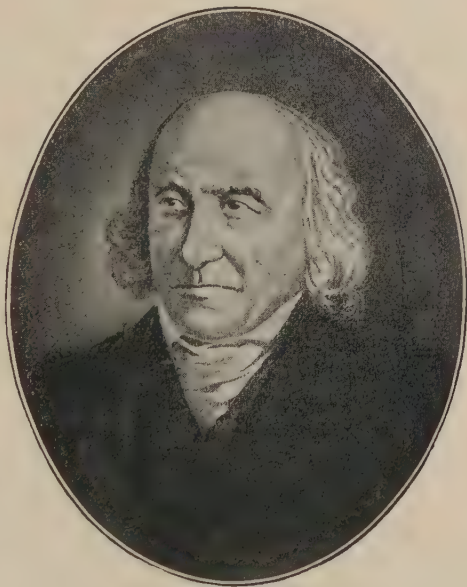
While the Federalists and the early Republicans fought their first political battles over Hamilton's financial measures, they differed widely in other vital respects. The Federalists distrusted

the fitness of the people to govern themselves. They believed in government of the people, for the people, by "the rich, the well-born, and the able" part of the people, as one of their foremost leaders said. The Federalists were aristocratic. Most of the men of wealth and education were in their ranks. They were strong in the cities and in the commercial states. Hamilton, John Adams, and John Jay were their ablest leaders, and President Washington sympathized with their views.

The early Republicans, on the other hand, were democratic in their opinions. They believed in the good sense of the common people and thought that the government would be safer in their hands than under the control of rich men, who might put their own interests ahead of the common good. The Republicans were especially strong in the country districts and on the frontier. Thomas Jefferson was the father of this party, and James Madison, Albert Gallatin, and James Monroe were other prominent leaders in its history. Republicans

In the Constitution the people have given certain powers to their government. The Federalists and the early Republicans differed widely in their understanding of the extent of these powers. The Constitution, for example, says nothing about the establishment of a national bank but it gives Congress the power to tax and to borrow money. Hamilton and his party con-

tended that because a national bank would be useful to the government in taking care of its money Congress had the right to establish it. This view, that the Constitution gives the government powers that are not distinctly named in it but that may be implied from what is said, is called *loose construction*. Jefferson and his followers, on the other hand, held that because the power to set up a national bank was not mentioned in the Constitution Congress had no right to establish one. This way of looking at the Constitution literally is called *strict construction* of it. The Federalists were



Albert Gallatin

Loose and
strict con-
struction of
the Consti-
tution

loose constructionists while the Republicans were believers in strict construction. The two great parties of our country have always disagreed upon this question. The Republicans of today are loose constructionists, while the present Democrats are more favorable to the strict construction views of Thomas Jefferson. But when any party is in power it is apt to favor a more liberal interpretation of the Constitution than when it is out of power, because loose construction tends to exalt

the authority of the national government.

X The French Revolution and War in Europe.—Six days after Washington became president in 1789 a great revolution broke out in France. The French people had long borne many grievous wrongs. The government of their country was despotic and oppressive in the extreme. Their property, their liberty, and even their lives could be taken from them at the whim of the king. The king alone could impose taxes, and most of the kings of France had used this power to squander



King Louis XVI of France

the money of their people in wars of aggression against the neighboring countries and upon an extravagant and wicked court. The reigning king, Louis XVI, was a man of good intentions but weak, irresolute, and utterly unfit for the position which he held.

Nearly one-half of all the land and a large part of all the other wealth in France belonged to the nobility and the church. Yet the nobles and the higher clergy were not required to pay taxes as other people were, and they lived in ease and luxury upon the rents of their estates. The nobles had many other special privileges. They were proud and often insolent to the common people whose labor supported them in idleness.

A despotic king

The nobles and the clergy

The lot of the great mass of the common people of France was a very hard one. There were some prosperous merchants and professional men in the cities, but the vast majority of Frenchmen were peasant farmers who passed their lives in unceasing toil upon the land only to see the fruits of their labor taken from them by the king, the noble landowners, and the church. If their crops failed for a single season they faced starvation.

The common people

At this time the condition of the people almost everywhere upon the continent of Europe was little if any better than it was in France. But in France men were learning to think. Great writers were arousing the people to a sense of the injustice in their lives. "Man was born free and is everywhere in chains," said one of them. Men were beginning to hate these chains and to think of breaking them. The success of the American Revolution encouraged many ardent young Frenchmen to dream of winning freedom for their own people.

French thinkers and writers

In 1789 the French government was face to face with bankruptcy. For the first time in one hundred and seventy-five years the king called the representatives of the people together in the hope that they would find a way to furnish him with more money. But instead of doing as the king wished, these representatives took the government into their own hands, swept away the special privileges of the nobles and the church, and while they permitted the king to keep his throne for a time, they took away most of his power.

The beginning of the Revolution

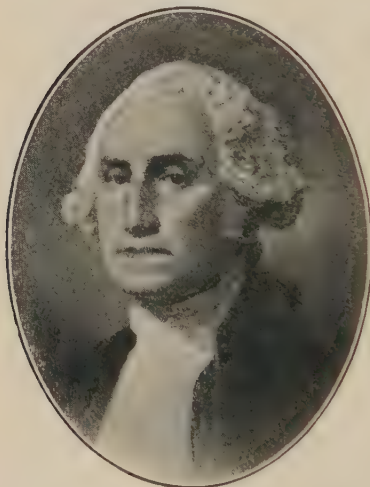
The other despotic kings in Europe were afraid that the revolutionary ideas of France would spread to their countries. To prevent this and to restore the lost rights of the French king and his nobles, many of whom had fled to them, the Prussians and the Austrians invaded France in 1792. Because the French people suspected that their king wanted the invaders of their country to win, they deposed him and declared France a republic. Early in 1793 they brought the king to trial and condemned him to death. The horror felt in England at the execution of Louis XVI helped to bring that country into the war against France in 1793. For the next twenty-two years France and England were at war nearly all the time—a fact that was destined to have a very great influence upon the history of the United States.

War in Europe

How Washington Kept Our Country Out of War.—With

Neutrality

England and France at war in 1793 our government faced a very difficult situation. We had a treaty of alliance with France, and the French, who had aided us during the Revolution, expected us to help them in return. If we did as they desired, our action was certain to bring on another war with England. But the United States was in no condition for war at this time. Its greatest need was a long period of peace in which the government under the Constitution could take root



From the Portrait by Gilbert Stuart.
President Washington

Our people
are divided
in opinion

in the confidence and affection of the people. After consulting the members of his cabinet Washington decided that our treaty with France did not bind us to help that country unless her possessions in the West Indies were attacked. Accordingly, the president issued a proclamation of neutrality, in which he said that the United States would not side with either France or England but would treat both of them alike.

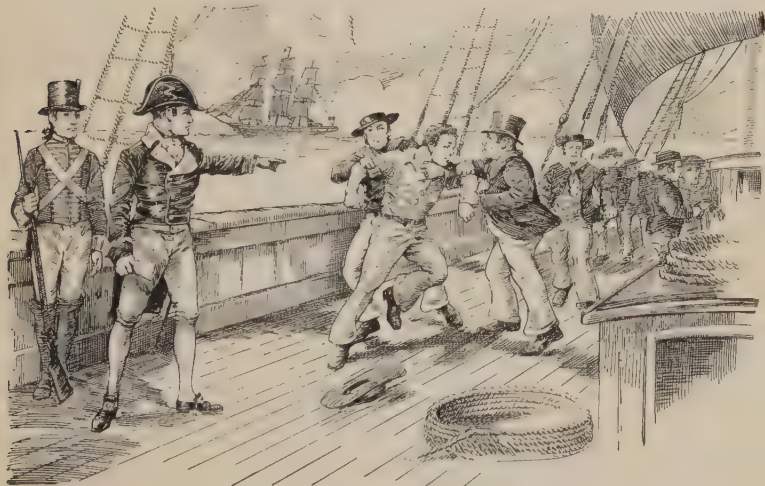
This action of Washington was not approved by all the people. Many

of them still hated England, while they recalled with gratitude the aid of France in the Revolution. Many Americans sympathized with the French in their struggle for liberty and hailed with joy the establishment of a republic in France. This feeling was especially strong among the political followers of Thomas Jefferson who rejoiced to see the French accepting the democratic principles of their party. The Federalists, on the other hand, had little confidence in government by the people anywhere, and they were horrified at the wild excesses of the revolutionists in France. They heartily approved of Washington's decision to keep out of the war. The

French Revolution and the war in Europe did much to widen the breach between the rising political parties in the United States.

Early in 1793 Genet, the first minister to the United States from the new French republic, landed at Charleston, South Carolina. He came to draw our country into a war with England. As he journeyed toward the capital the people welcomed him with open arms. He rode into Philadelphia escorted by a vast crowd. The Republicans were wild with enthusiasm for France. They even aped the French revolu-

The mission
of Genet



Impressing American Seamen

tionists in discarding all forms of address except the simple title "citizen," which they gave to every one. Genet's head was turned by the warmth of his reception in America. When he found that Washington was steadfast in his purpose not to enter the war, he blustered and stormed and even threatened to appeal to the people against the president. For a time Washington was very patient with Genet; but when Genet fitted out a ship of war and sent it to sea, after promising not to do so, the president promptly asked the French government to recall him. France soon sent a wiser minister to the United States.

Trouble with
England

Washington's firmness kept our country from fighting England to aid the French. In the meantime the conduct of England brought us to the verge of a war with her in defense of our own rights. Ever since 1783 England had refused to give up the posts on our northern frontier. The frontiersmen believed that the British incited the Indians to attack them. After war broke out between France and England in 1793, England began to trouble our commerce. She forbade our trade with the French West Indies and captured our ships anywhere that she could find them if they had French goods on board. Worse even than this, she impressed or seized sailors on our ships on the ground that they were Englishmen and forced them to serve in her navy. For these reasons many of our people clamored for war with England.


The Jay
Treaty
averts war

But Washington knew that the great need of the country was time in which to grow strong, and he was determined that there should be no war if he could prevent it by honorable means. In 1794 he sent John Jay, the chief justice, to England to try to make a treaty of friendship and commerce with that country. Before the end of the year Jay signed a treaty in London in which the British government agreed to give up the northern frontier posts and to pay for American vessels that had been captured illegally. The British also agreed to permit the United States to trade with their West Indian colonies, but under conditions so unjust that this part of the treaty was rejected by our Senate. Nothing was said about the impressment of our sailors or about the right of our people to trade with a nation with which England was at war.

The wisdom
of Wash-
ington

In the Jay Treaty England fell far short of yielding everything that Washington wanted, but he believed that this treaty was better than a war and with some difficulty he persuaded the Senate to ratify it. At first the Jay Treaty was very unpopular, and Washington was grossly abused for making it. But in time nearly every one came to see his wisdom in keeping the infant republic out of war.

The Farewell
Address

 **The Two Federalist Presidents.**—Washington had reluctantly accepted a second term, and as it drew to a close he resolved to retire from public life to the quiet of his home at Mount Vernon. In September, 1796, he announced this decision to his countrymen in his famous Farewell Address.



WASHINGTON'S SECOND INAUGURATION—1793

WASHINGTON'S SECOND INAUGURATION—1793

On March 4, 1793, Washington began his second Presidential term by taking the oath of office at the State House, Philadelphia, which was then the capital of the nation. An eye-witness of the event writes: "Washington proceeded to the State House in an elegant coach drawn by six superb white horses. Upon his arrival, two gentlemen with white wands with some difficulty opened a passageway through the throng for the President. Washington was dressed in black velvet with black silk stockings and diamond **knee** buckles, and wore a dress sword."

The building portrayed in this picture now contains the Ferris Collection of American Historical Paintings from which the color illustrations in this book were directly reproduced.

Mount Vernon ¹² 13 Dec 1799

M^r Anderson,

I did not know that you were here yesterday morning until I had mounted my horse, otherwise I should have given you what I now send.

As M^r Rawlins was going to the Upper Farm, to lay off the Clover-lots, I sent by him the Duplicate for that Farm to his brother — and as I was going to River Farm myself, I carried a copy for that Farm to Donald — Both of them have been directed to consider them attentively & to be prepared to give you their ideas of the mode of arranging the work when they are called upon. —

Such a Pen as I saw yesterday at Union Farm, would, if the Cattle were kept in it one week, destroy the whole of them — They would be infinitely more comfortable in this, or any other weather, in the open field. — Dogue run Farm Pen may be in the same condition — It did not occur to me as I passed through the yard of the Barn to look into it — I am Your friend &c^{re}

M^r Jas Anderson

G. Washington

Washington's Last Letter

Washington's refusal to seek a third term set an example which has been followed by nearly all of his successors, none of whom has occupied the presidential chair more than two terms.

Washington's Farewell Address was filled with the purest

and wisest advice to his countrymen. He urged them to cherish the Constitution, to promote education, to avoid debt, to beware of the evil effects of party spirit, and to keep out of entangling alliances with other nations. "Let there be no sectionalism," he said, "no North, South, East, or West: you are all dependent one on another, and should be one in union. In a word, be a nation, be Americans, and be true to yourselves."

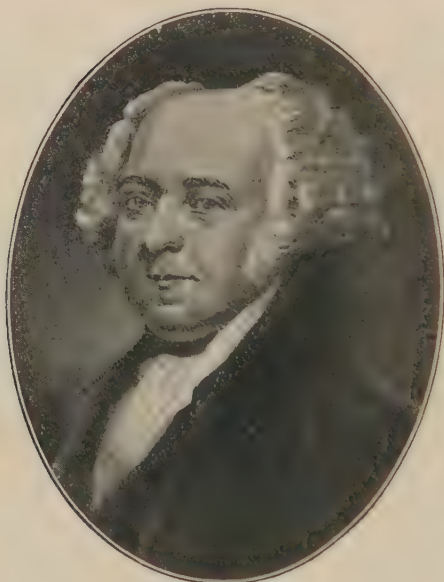
After less than three years of the quiet life he loved, at his home on the bank of the Potomac, Washington died on December 14, 1799. His noble character and his priceless services to his country have never been better pictured than in the words of his biographer, Lodge, who says:

"I see in Washington a great soldier who fought a trying war to a successful end impossible without him; a great statesman who did more than all other men to lay the foundations of a republic

which has endured in prosperity for more than a century. I find in him a marvelous judgment which was never at fault, a penetrating vision which beheld the future of America when it was dim to other eyes, a great intellectual force, a will of iron, an unyielding grasp of facts, and an unequaled strength of patriotic purpose. I see in him a pure and high-minded gentleman of dauntless courage and stainless honor, simple and stately of manner, kind and generous of heart."

Washington had been chosen to the presidency without

A picture of
Washington



President John Adams

opposition and his refusal of a third term was followed by the first contested presidential campaign in our history. There were no national conventions like those which select candidates for the presidency now, but John Adams was the recognized candidate of the Federalists while Thomas Jefferson was the choice of the Republicans. Adams was elected after a very close contest, and Jefferson became vice-president.

The election
of 1796

John Adams, who was president a single term, from 1797 to 1801, had a long and distinguished public career. He first won fame as a defender of the rights of the colonies. He was a leading member of the Continental Congress, a champion of the Declaration of Independence, and active in carrying on the government of our country during its war for freedom. He helped to make the treaty of peace at the close of the Revolution, was our first minister to England, and came home to be vice-president with Washington. Adams was an honest, brave, and intensely patriotic man of great ability, but because he was blunt and plain spoken he was never very popular. The most serious question of his administration grew out of our troubled relations with France.

John Adams

Our Troubles with France.—France was sorely displeased by Washington's proclamation of neutrality and she became still more angry when Jay's Treaty robbed her of the hope that the United States might be drawn into a war with England. She declared that this treaty released her from her alliance with us and began to punish us for making it by seizing our ships. James Monroe, our minister to France and a Republican who sympathized deeply with the French, failed to protect our rights, and Washington recalled him in disgrace and sent Charles C. Pinckney to take his place. The French government refused to have anything to do with Pinckney and warned him to leave the country.

The anger of
of France

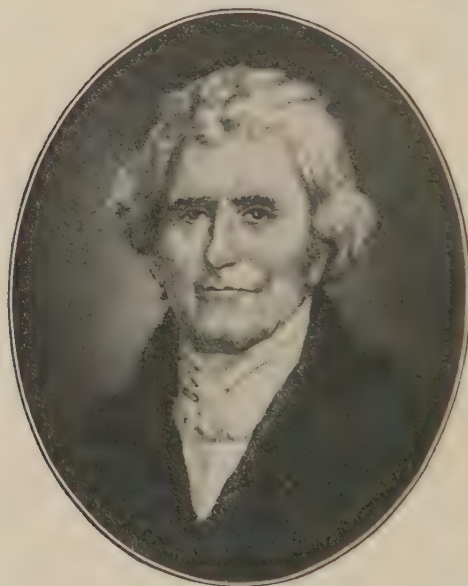
The news of this insult to our minister reached President Adams three weeks after his inauguration, in 1797. Adams called Congress together at once, told it that France had treated us "neither as allies nor as friends," and urged it to provide for the defense of our commerce. At the same time in his desire to avoid war with our friend of the Revolution, the president decided to send Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry to France to make one more effort to come to

Adams tries
to avoid war

a peaceful understanding with that country. But people and news traveled slowly in those days, and it was nearly a year before the result of this mission was known in America.

**The X, Y, Z
affair**

When Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry reached Paris, Talleyrand, the French foreign minister, would not see them but sent three agents, who were known in America as X, Y, and Z, to call upon them. These agents hinted plainly that the Americans must apologize for what President Adams had



John Marshall

said about France, bribe the French ministers, and loan money to the French government. Our representatives said they could not do these things. But the French agents continued to urge and threaten them. One day Mr. X said, "Gentlemen, you do not speak to the point. It is money; it is expected that you will offer money." Our envoys replied that they had already answered that point very explicitly. "No," replied Mr. X, "you

have not. What is your answer?" "It is no; no; no; not a sixpence," said the Americans.

**We prepare
to fight**

When the report of our envoys was published in America a flame of indignation swept over the country. President Adams said, "I will never send another minister to France without assurance that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a free, powerful, and independent nation." Pinckney's words, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute," were repeated on every hand.

Preparations for war were begun at once. The Department of the Navy was organized and the first secretary of the navy was appointed. Plans were made for raising an army, and Washington was appointed to command it.

Fortunately we were never obliged to declare war upon France although actual fighting took place between the ships of the two nations. When he saw that America would fight, Talleyrand said he would receive a minister from the United States with all due respect. Just at this time Napoleon Bonaparte overthrew the existing French government and rose to supreme power in France. He had no desire for a war with America, and in 1800 a treaty was made between France and the United States which restored friendly relations between the two countries.



From the painting by Paul Hippolyte Delaroche in the collection of the Countess of Sandwich.
Napoleon Bonaparte

Bitter party strife

The Fall of the Federalists.--The feeling between the Federalists and the Republicans was very bitter when Adams was president. The people had quickly forgotten Washington's advice to beware of the evil effects of party spirit. Never have the speakers and the newspapers of rival political parties been more abusive than they were at this time. Many of the most violent Republican politicians and editors were of French, English, or Irish birth, and some of these foreigners were not even naturalized. The Federalists thought that such men were very dangerous.

The first effect of the X, Y, Z affair was to strengthen the

**A Federalist
mistake**

Federalist party. Everywhere the people approved the patriotic stand of President Adams. The Republicans who had always favored the French now had little to say. But the Federalists made a very unwise use of their new power. They resolved to drive out of the country or to silence the foreigners and the Republican editors who were criticising and often abusing the government.

**The Alien
and Sedition
Acts**

With this end in view the Federalist Congress passed two important laws in 1798. The Alien Act gave the president the power to expel from the country any unnaturalized foreigner whom he thought dangerous to the government. The Sedition Act made it a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment to speak or write anything tending to make the people think ill of the government. During this period the Alien Act was not enforced, but the Sedition Act was used to punish a number of abusive Republican editors.

**Virginia and
Kentucky
denounce
these laws**

The Alien and Sedition Acts were angrily denounced by the Republicans. The legislature of Virginia declared that these acts violated the Constitution. In resolutions written by Madison, it said that the Constitution is an agreement or compact between the states and that "when Congress passes a law contrary to the Constitution it is the duty of the states to interfere." The legislature of Kentucky took the same position in resolutions which came from the pen of Jefferson. Kentucky further declared that each state may judge for itself whether Congress has the power to pass a law, and may nullify or stop the enforcement within its borders of any federal law that it thinks unconstitutional. As we shall see later, the ideas expressed in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions were destined to cause serious trouble in the United States.

**The election
of 1800**

The passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts and the attempt to enforce the Sedition Act had very serious results for the Federalists. The people held that party responsible for these obnoxious laws and drove it from power in the election of 1800. Since that time the United States has never tried in time of peace to regulate what its citizens should think or say about the government. The Federalists never won an election after their defeat in 1800, and some years later the party disappeared.

It was fortunate for our country that the Federalists were in power from 1789 to 1801. At that time the people needed

more law and order rather than more liberty or democracy. The Federalist party gave the nation a well-organized government, restored its financial credit, and established a wise policy in dealing with other countries. Then its work was done. Its downfall was equally fortunate for the country, for its leaders did not trust the people or believe them fit to govern themselves. A more democratic party was needed to guide the destinies of the nation in the nineteenth century.

Our debt to the Federalists

REFERENCES.

X

Bassett, *The Federalist System*; Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. IV; Johnson, *Union and Democracy*; Hart, *The Formation of the Union*; Walker, *The Making of the Nation*; Wilson, *History of the American People*, Vol. III; Schouler, *History of the United States*, Vol. I; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vols. I, II.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Inauguration of Washington. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, I, 538-540.
2. The Early Life of Hamilton. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, I, 125-126.
3. Thomas Jefferson, The Republican Leader. Schouler, *History of the United States*, I, 189-192.
4. The Whiskey Insurrection. Bassett, *The Federalist System*, 101-116.
5. The Causes of the French Revolution. Myers, *General History*, 627-632; or Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, 537-557; or Harding, *New Mediæval and Modern History*, 467-481.
6. American Enthusiasm for the French Revolution. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, II, 89-95.
7. The Mission of Citizen Genet. Bassett, *The Federalist System*, 89-98.
8. A Defense of the Jay Treaty. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 315-319.
9. A Word Picture of Washington. Lodge, *George Washington*, II, 304-395.
10. The X, Y, Z Correspondence. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 322-326.
11. The Enforcement of the Sedition Act. Bassett, *The Federalist System*, 261-264.
12. A Character Sketch of John Adams. Schouler, *History of the United States*, I, 505-512.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Whittier, *The Vow of Washington*; Paine, *Adams and Liberty*; Hopkinson, *Hail, Columbia*.

Stories: Seawell, *Little Jarvis*; Mitchell, *The Red City*; Cooper, *Miles Wallingford*; Atherton, *The Conqueror*; Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry*; Goodloe, *Calvert of Strathore*; Barr, *The Maid of Maiden Lane*; Cooke, *Leather Stocking and Silk*; Kennedy, *Swallow Barn*.

Biographies: Lodge, *George Washington*; Morse, *John Adams*; Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*; Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*; Gay, *James Madison*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. Who are the members of the present cabinet? Must the president be guided by the advice of his cabinet?
2. Name the United States courts lower than the Supreme Court. Who is now chief justice of the Supreme Court?
3. Find out the difference between a specific and an ad valorem duty. Which of our present political parties favors a high protective tariff?
4. Define the words debtor, creditor, bond, excise. What is a bank? What kinds of business does it do? What banks now issue paper money?
5. Do you believe in the political opinions of Hamilton or in those of Jefferson? Why? Which of our present political parties most resembles the Republicans of Jefferson's time?
6. What happened in Russia in 1917? Do you see any resemblance between this event and the French Revolution? What form of government existed in France at the time of the X, Y, Z Affair?
7. If Congress passes an act that it has no power to pass what is the rightful remedy?
8. Name three great leaders of the Federalists. What did each do for our country? What happened in 1789? In 1793? In 1798? Connect three events with 1794.
9. Questions for debate: Should we have helped the French in 1793? Should the Jay Treaty have been ratified? Should people have the right to criticise the government at all times?

X

CHAPTER XI

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

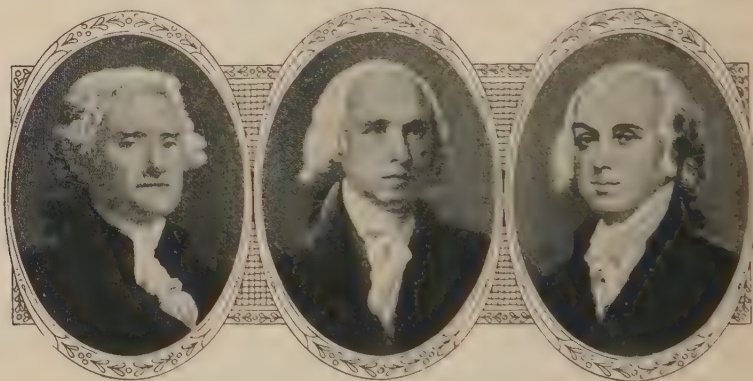
X **The Triumph of Democracy.**—The election of 1800 was a turning point in the history of the United States. For twelve years the Federalists had wisely ruled the young nation. But as President Adams' term of office drew to a close it was evident that his party had outlived its usefulness. Its leaders were quarreling among themselves. Its folly in passing the Alien and Sedition Acts was everywhere turning men against it. Moreover, their life in a new land tended to make the American people democratic at heart. The majority of them preferred the democratic ideas of Jefferson to the aristocratic notions of Adams and his party. The choice of Jefferson instead of Adams in the election of 1800 meant that henceforth the United States was to have a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. A political revolution

The election of 1800 revealed a serious defect in the Constitution and led to its correction. The Constitution provided that each presidential elector should vote for two persons for president and that the person having the largest number of votes should be president, if the number of votes cast for him was a majority of the whole number of electors. It also provided that the person having the next largest number of votes should be the vice-president. The Republican party won the election of 1800 and every elector chosen by it voted for Jefferson. Unfortunately every Republican elector also voted for Aaron Burr. It was the plain intention of the Republicans to choose Jefferson president and Aaron Burr vice-president. But as the Constitution then read there was a tie vote, and it became the duty of the House of Representatives to choose a president from the two candidates having an equal number of votes. After a long and exciting contest the house elected Jefferson, and Burr accordingly became vice-president. In order to avoid such a situation in the future the twelfth amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1804. The twelfth amendment

ment provides that the presidential electors shall vote by separate ballots for president and vice-president, the method that is followed at the present time. In reality the choice of a president by the presidential electors has been a mere form ever since the contests between Adams and Jefferson, as the electors always vote for the candidates of their respective parties.

Year by year the democratic principles of the early Republican party became more firmly fixed in the hearts of the people. Jefferson was easily reelected in 1804, and when his second term expired he was succeeded by his friend James Madison of Virginia, who had been his secretary of state. Madison was

**Three great
Virginians
govern from
1801 to 1825**



Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe

These three great Virginians held in turn the office of President during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. They are sometimes called the Virginia dynasty in our history.

president for two terms, from 1809 to 1817, and then gave way to James Monroe, another Virginian, who had been his secretary of state. Monroe served from 1817 to 1825. By 1820 the Federalist party had disappeared and President Monroe was chosen for a second term that year without opposition. These three great Virginians, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, led the Republican party to victory and governed the country during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Before the end of that period the principles of democracy for which they stood were firmly established. By 1825 new questions were coming to the front and new parties under new leaders were beginning to arise.

Thomas Jefferson, the Leader of Democracy.—Thomas Jefferson was the first president inaugurated in Washington. There was a great contrast between his inauguration and those of his predecessors. Both Washington and Adams were courtly in manner and fond of fine clothes and ceremony. Adams had gone to his inauguration in a coach drawn by six horses and had been sworn into office with pomp and parade. Jefferson's dress and manners were as plain and democratic as his political

Jefferson's
inauguration



Monticello, Jefferson's Home in Virginia

opinions. At noon on March 4, 1801, he left his lodgings in Washington, which was then a straggling village of perhaps five hundred inhabitants, and accompanied by a few friends walked to the capitol. Here he took the oath of office as president before John Marshall, who had recently been appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court by President Adams.

It is the custom of our presidents when taking office to give an inaugural address in which they state their views and

The principles of democracy

purposes. In his address in 1801 Jefferson declared the principles of democratic government to be equal and exact justice to all men; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; a jealous care of the right of election by the people; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense; the honest payment of our debts; the diffusion of information; freedom in religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected. "These principles," said Jefferson, "should be the creed of our political faith."

Jefferson, the man

The author of this democratic creed was one of the most interesting figures in our history. Jefferson was a very tall, awkward man, with a sunny face and a frank and friendly disposition. He had a scientific turn of mind and was always interested in new ideas and new inventions. He had confidence in the plain people and believed that the government ought to be in their hands and managed in their interest. Jefferson's wonderful power of winning people to his way of thinking made him one of our greatest political leaders. He hated war and declared that "Peace is our passion." He reduced the army from four thousand to two thousand five hundred men, laid up many of the ships of the navy, and hoped by the strictest economy to pay off the national debt. He was greatly aided in his financial plans by his able secretary of the treasury, Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania.

His career

Thomas Jefferson had a long and wonderful public career. At the early age of twenty-six he was a member of the Virginia legislature. He wrote the Declaration of Independence when he was only thirty-three. He served in the Continental Congress, was governor of Virginia, and later a member of the Congress of the Confederation. Between 1784 and 1809 he was successively our minister to France, secretary of state, vice-president, and president for two terms. He did more than any other man of his time to teach the American people the principles of liberty, equality, and democracy. He was a great servant of the common good. He gloried in this service far more than in all the honors and offices that came to him. In the inscription he wrote for his own monument he does not

even mention the fact that he was president, but calls himself "Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and father of the University of Virginia." It is a remarkable coincidence that Jefferson and his friend and political rival, John Adams, both died on July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, of which one was the author and the other the foremost champion.

Our Mississippi Trade.—In spite of President Jefferson's ardent desire for peace our country came very near having a war during his first term. The act by which Jefferson averted this danger was so important and has had such a far-reaching



A Loaded Flat Boat on the Way to New Orleans

influence upon the history of the United States that we must study it in some detail.

The settlements in the West had been growing ever since the early years of the Revolution. By 1800 there were nearly four hundred thousand people west of the Alleghanies and this number was increasing by thousands every year. Nearly all these western pioneers were farmers. Their greatest need soon came to be a market for the products of their farms. The Appalachian mountain system lay between them and the cities on the Atlantic seaboard. It cost more than their grain and pork were worth to haul them over the mountain roads to the eastern markets. The rivers were their only available roads to the outside world. So they loaded their corn, wheat, tobacco, and salt meats upon flat boats and barges which

The western
road to
market

floated down the Ohio and the Mississippi to the port of New Orleans.

Unfortunately for the western settlers New Orleans and both banks of the lower Mississippi were in the possession of a foreign power. Louisiana was first settled by France, but that country ceded it to Spain in 1763. The American boatmen who came down the Mississippi were entirely at the mercy of the Spanish government at New Orleans. They were required to pay heavy tolls and duties and were often delayed and annoyed in the most vexing ways. This selfish policy of the Spanish authorities in Louisiana was a great hardship to the western settlers. Their tobacco sold for less than one-fourth of the price which tobacco was bringing in Virginia. The food products, so abundant in the West, were almost valueless because of the difficulty and expense of sending them to market. It is no wonder that the men of the West hated the Spaniards and appealed to the government of the United States to bring Spain to terms.

Spain
hampered our
river trade

The
Pinckney
Treaty

For a long time the cry of the West for help met with no response. During the period of the Confederation Spain even offered us a favorable treaty of commerce if we would agree to the closing of the lower Mississippi to our trade. Many of the eastern merchants wanted to accept this proposition, and only the wrath of the westerners prevented our government from agreeing to it. At last in 1795 Thomas Pinckney, our minister to Spain, succeeded in getting that country to agree to a treaty giving the citizens of the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi and the "right of deposit" at New Orleans. This was the right to land and store our goods in that city free of duty until they could be sent away on ocean-going ships.

The growing
trade of our
rising West

After the Pinckney Treaty was made, the trade on our western rivers grew rapidly. The Ohio and the Mississippi were covered with great flat boats and barges. Even sea-going ships were built at Pittsburgh and sent down these rivers to the ocean. The rising West was growing prosperous. By 1802 one-fourth of the commerce of this United States went down the Mississippi. If any foreign power at New Orleans should ever try to close the lower Mississippi to the Americans who lived on the upper waters of that river there would be

grave danger that a host of angry frontiersmen would go down the Mississippi with their rifles to open a path to the sea. Such action would mean war. The country was brought face to face with this danger in 1802.

The Colonial Scheme of Napoleon.—The ambition of Napoleon Bonaparte was responsible for the war cloud which hung over the Mississippi valley in 1803. Napoleon was a brilliant but utterly unscrupulous young French soldier who overthrew the government of his country and made himself master of France in 1799. At that time France was at war with both Austria and England. Napoleon soon defeated the Austrians and in 1802 he made peace with England. He was now free to carry out a plan, which he had long had in mind, for rebuilding the colonial empire which France lost in the French and Indian War.

With this end in view he had induced the king of Spain to recede Louisiana to France in 1800 by promising to give territory in Italy to a son-in-law of the Spanish monarch. This bargain was kept secret for a time and France did not at once take possession of Louisiana. Before occupying New Orleans Napoleon intended to reconquer Santo Domingo and make that island a stepping-stone between France and a new colonial empire in America.

When the French Revolution began in 1789 Santo Domingo was a prosperous colony of France. It was a land of great sugar plantations owned by a few hundred rich French planters and worked by half a million negro slaves. One summer night in 1789 the slaves rose in rebellion against their masters. A horrible massacre followed. Santo Domingo was wasted with fire and drenched with blood. After some years the government of the island passed into the hands of a negro chief named Toussaint Louverture, a man of great ability but almost as ambitious, crafty, and treacherous as Napoleon himself.

Late in 1801, General Leclerc, Napoleon's brother-in-law, sailed from France with ten thousand soldiers to reconquer Santo Domingo, restore slavery in it, and then go on to Louisiana. Fortunately for the United States, this expedition never reached the mouth of the Mississippi. The negroes of Santo Domingo fiercely resisted the French troops. After a time Toussaint was taken by treachery and sent to France to die

**Napoleon
Bonaparte**

**France
recovers
Louisiana**

**Insurrection
in Santo
Domingo**

**Napoleon
fails to
recover that
island**

in a dungeon. But before the French could finish the conquest of the island the yellow fever swept away nearly all their soldiers. The effort to recover Santo Domingo was a failure.

By 1803 it was evident that the treaty of peace between England and France was only a truce and that war was about to break out again between these countries. Napoleon's dream of a revived French colonial empire in America was not to be realized. Santo Domingo was lost

Why
Napoleon
sold
Louisiana



Why we
wanted
Louisiana

From the Tablet by Karl Bitter.
Signing the Louisiana Purchase Treaty

and there was great danger that when war began England would seize Louisiana. Moreover, Napoleon needed money. He was in just the mood to sell Louisiana if he could find a buyer. Just at this opportune moment the purchaser appeared.

The Purchase of Louisiana.—When Jefferson heard of the secret treaty between France and Spain he was greatly disturbed. "The news," he said, "that Spain cedes Louisiana to France is very ominous to us." A little later he wrote to our minister at Paris: "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor

of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

Near the close of 1802 the news came that the Spanish authorities at New Orleans had suddenly withdrawn the right of deposit. This action threatened to ruin the commerce of the West. At once that section was ablaze with wrath. The pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee talked fiercely of taking their rifles and marching upon New Orleans. The country was upon the verge of war.

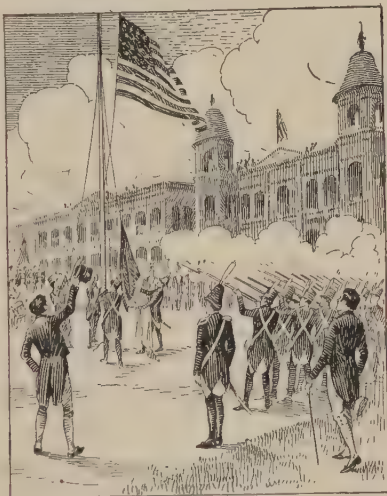
But Jefferson was above all things a man of peace. In the hope of preventing the threatened war he sent James Monroe to France to aid Robert R. Livingston, our minister in that country, in an effort to buy New Orleans. In the meantime, as we have seen, Napoleon was eager to sell what he had been unable to occupy. One day when Livingston and Talleyrand, Napoleon's minister of foreign affairs, were talking about the purchase of New Orleans, Talleyrand said, "What would you give for all Louisiana?" Livingston replied that he was daily expecting Monroe and that he would like to think about it until the latter arrived.

Two days later Monroe reached Paris. Livingston and Monroe were not instructed to buy all of Louisiana, but they knew its great value to their country and quickly came to terms with the French ministers. For \$15,000,000 France agreed to cede to the United States the western half of the most valuable river valley in the world. The treaty which doubled the area of the United States was signed on May 2, 1803.

As Livingston laid down his pen after signing his name he shook hands with Monroe and the French minister, and said, "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our lives."

The Occupation and Exploration of Louisiana.—(On November 30, 1803, the Spanish flag was lowered for the last time in New Orleans, and the French banner was run up in its stead as a symbol of the formal transfer of Louisiana to France. Just twenty days later a small force of American soldiers marched into the city to take possession of the territory in the name of the United States. In the presence of a vast crowd the Tricolor of France was gently lowered from

We try to
buy New
Orleans



Taking Possession of Louisiana

The
Louisiana
Purchase

Our flag
floats in
New Orleans

its place and carried away by a guard of old French soldiers while the Stars and Stripes were flung to the breeze from the top of the staff. The ceremony of American occupation ended with a speech by the new American governor to the assembled Louisianians, whom he called, "My fellow citizens."

Government
in Louisiana

The vast domain acquired by the Louisiana purchase had a population of about fifty thousand in 1803, nearly all of whom lived upon the banks of the lower Mississippi and Red rivers. Congress soon gave this inhabited region a territorial form of government, and in 1812 the state of Louisiana with its present boundaries was admitted into the Union.

Lewis and
Clark sent
to explore
the West

Outside the settlements in the present state of Louisiana and a few little French villages in Missouri, the old French province of Louisiana was an unknown wilderness. Jefferson had long been interested in western exploration, and after 1803 he had an added reason for searching out the extent and nature of the country beyond the Mississippi. He now sent two young army officers, Meriwether Lewis, who had been his private secretary, and William Clark, a brother of George Rogers Clark, to ascend the Missouri River and, if possible, to cross the continent to the Pacific. It would have been hard to find two men better fitted for the dangerous task before them. Lewis and Clark were daring and resolute yet wise and tactful in dealing with the Indians, whose friendship they must win if they were to succeed in their hazardous purpose. They were also careful observers of the physical features, plants, and animals of the country through which they passed, and skilled in reporting plainly what they saw.

Their trip
up the
Missouri

In May, 1804, Lewis and Clark started up the Missouri River with forty-five men in three boats. Soon they left the last settlement behind them. Their journey was slow and filled with toil, for the current against which they strove was swift and the river was filled with snags. At night they were pestered almost beyond endurance by swarms of gnats and mosquitoes. They depended upon game for their food, but they lived well for they were traveling through a paradise for hunters, a land swarming with buffaloes, elk, deer, and wild turkeys. They had some trouble with the Indians along the way, but the firmness and good sense of the leaders averted any serious danger. The approach of cold weather found them

sixteen hundred miles up the Missouri in the land of the Mandan Indians, near the present Bismarek, North Dakota. Here they built a fort and passed the winter.

In April, 1805, Lewis and Clark again pushed forward, this time in small canoes, until they traced the Missouri to its source in the Rocky Mountains. During this part of their journey they were much troubled by ferocious grizzly bears. **They reach the Pacific**

An Indian squaw called the Bird Woman, the wife of a French hunter in their party, was very helpful to Lewis and Clark at this stage of their work. Years before the Bird Woman had been kidnaped from a mountain tribe. She now found her kindred, who sold horses to the explorers and showed them a trail through the mountains. After many hardships the party reached a stream which flows into the Columbia. Here they built canoes and floated with the current until they reached the Pacific Ocean. After a winter in camp near the shore of the Pacific Lewis and Clark retraced their course and reached



Statue of the Bird Woman at Portland, Oregon

St. Louis in safety in September, 1806. Their expedition was one of the most remarkable in the history of American exploration.

While Lewis and Clark were crossing the continent another young army officer, Zebulon N. Pike, led two important exploring parties into the newly acquired Louisiana country. In 1805 **Pike's explorations** he ascended the Mississippi River and spent the winter exploring the lake region of Minnesota, though he did not find the true source of the Mississippi. In 1806 Pike crossed the plains of Kansas to the Arkansas River, which he traced to the Rocky

Mountains. It was on this expedition that Pike discovered the mighty peak which has ever since borne his name. After terrible suffering from cold and hunger Pike reached the Rio Grande where he was captured as a trespasser upon Spanish territory and taken to Mexico. He was soon released, however, and found his way back to the United States.

The importance of the work of Lewis and Clark

Besides the valuable knowledge they gained about the extent and the resources of the country bought from France in 1803, Lewis and Clark, and Pike opened the way into the heart of the far West. The trails they blazed were soon followed by hunters, trappers, and fur traders, and a little later



The Exploring Expeditions of Lewis and Clarke, and Pike

actual settlers came to possess the land. In 1792 an American sea captain named Gray had found the mouth of a great river which he named Columbia for his ship. This discovery gave the United States a claim to all the country drained by the Columbia River. The work of Lewis and Clark strengthened our claim to the Oregon country, as the far Northwest was coming to be called. When John Jacob Astor established a fur-trading post at Astoria in 1811 he took the first step toward the actual occupation of this rich region.

The Plot of Aaron Burr.—While Lewis and Clark were exploring the far West the peace of the western settlements was threatened by the wild schemes of Aaron Burr. Burr was a brilliant and ambitious man, but utterly selfish and untrust-



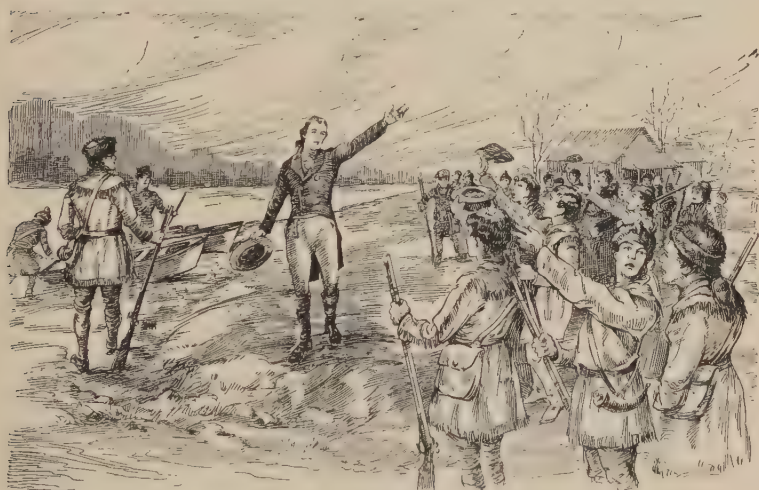
THE UNITED STATES
and its Neighbors
AFTER THE
PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA

GULF OF MEXICO



worthy. We have seen how he came within a single vote of winning the presidency in 1800, when Jefferson was chosen by the House of Representatives. In 1804 Burr tried to be elected governor of New York, but he was defeated through the efforts of Alexander Hamilton. This angered him and he challenged Hamilton and killed him in a duel. This crime ruined Burr's political prospects in the East, and he now turned his attention to a selfish conspiracy in the West.

Burr's purpose was to make himself the ruler of a new



Aaron Burr Addressing His Followers

state in the Southwest. Just how he expected to establish this new nation is not quite clear. He told some of his followers **Burr's plot** that he intended to lead an expedition against Mexico. Others thought that he meant to set up a government of his own in Louisiana. Probably he dreamed of doing both of these things. Burr told so many different stories about his plans that it is hard for us to believe anything that he said.

At first the men of the West, who hated Spain and wished to win West Florida and Texas from her, received Burr with enthusiasm. But when they began to realize that his designs **His arrest and trial** were treasonable they fell away from him. In 1806 Burr started down the Mississippi with sixty followers, but when

his party reached Natchez he lost hope and, disguised as a river boatman, fled through the forest toward Florida. He was arrested just before he reached the Spanish boundary and tried for treason, but was acquitted because it could not be proved that he had ever actually levied war upon the United States.

Control of
the Missis-
sippi

The Meaning of the Louisiana Purchase.—The purchase of Louisiana was welcomed with delight by the people of the rising West. It made the Mississippi an American river from its source to its mouth, and thus gave to the inhabitants of the Mississippi valley a natural outlet for their commerce for all time. It promoted the peace of our country by removing a cause of dispute and possible wars with Spain or France. Burr's conspiracy would have been a much more serious danger than it was if either of those nations had been in possession of New Orleans at the time.

The area of
our country
doubled

The acquisition of the land from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains doubled the area of the United States. Thirteen great states have since been created out of the territory added to the nation in 1803. We then owned all of the most fertile and extensive river valley in the temperate zone,—a land designed by nature to be the home of one people. It thus made certain the future greatness of our country. When Napoleon sold Louisiana he said, "This accession of territory establishes forever the power of the United States."

Great
importance
of the
Louisiana
Purchase

The Louisiana purchase strengthened the government of the United States. As a "strict constructionist" Jefferson doubted the right of the nation to buy territory and wanted the Constitution amended so that the purchase could be lawfully made. But his friends persuaded him that it was not necessary to do this, and since the Louisiana Purchase was made no one has questioned the power of the national government to acquire territory. The acquisition of the vast domain beyond the Mississippi opened a great field for western emigration. The Mississippi valley was destined to be the real heart of the country in which true democracy and national spirit were to develop most rapidly. When we think of all its consequences we must decide that the purchase of Louisiana was the most important fact in the first half century of our history under the Constitution.

REFERENCES.

Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*; Ogg, *The Opening of the Mississippi*; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vols. II-III; Schouler, *History of the United States*, Vol. II; Adams, *History of the United States*, Vols. I-III; Hosmer, *Short History of the Mississippi Valley*; Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, Vol. IV.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. Jefferson and the Great Men of his Time. Adams, *History of the United States*, I, 185-196.
2. The Inauguration of Jefferson. Adams, *History of the United States*, I, 197-204.
3. The Story of Toussaint Louverture. Adams, *History of the United States*, I, 378-398.
4. Napoleon's Quarrel with his Brothers About Selling Louisiana. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 367-372.
5. How We Bought Louisiana. Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*, 60-72.
6. Raising our Flag in New Orleans. Grace King, *New Orleans*, 155-163.
7. The Adventures of Lewis and Clark. McMurry, *Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains*, 1-39.
8. Pike's Explorations, Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Explorations*, 196-208.
9. The Duel between Hamilton and Burr. Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*, 242-247.
10. The Story of Burr's Conspiracy. Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*, 155-168.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Proctor, *Sa-Ca-Ga-We-A*; Barlow, *On the Discoveries of Captain Lewis*.

Stories: Churchill, *The Crossing*; Carpenter, *The Code of Victor Jaillot*; Cable, *Strange True Stories of Louisiana*; *The Grandissimes*. Hale, *Philip Nolan's Friends*; *The Man without a Country*; Hough, *The Magnificent Adventure*; Pidgin, *Blennerhassett*; Irving, *Astoria*; McMurry, *Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains*; Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Exploration*.

Biographies: Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*; Schouler, *Thomas Jefferson*; Lighton, *Lewis and Clark*.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. Why was the election of Jefferson a turning point in our history?
2. Explain how our present way of electing a president differs from the plan followed in 1800. Is there any good reason for our system of presidential electors?
3. Name the first five presidents. How many terms had each?
4. Was Jefferson's policy of reducing the army and navy wise? What is meant by calling Jefferson a "servant of the common good"?
5. Why did we want to buy New Orleans? Why was Napoleon willing to sell Louisiana to us? How do the farmers of the Mississippi valley send their products to the markets of the world now?
6. Where is Santo Domingo? Point out upon a map the exact extent of the Louisiana purchase. Trace upon the map the route of Lewis and Clark. The route of Pike's expeditions.
7. What is treason? Was Burr a traitor?
8. Theme for an essay: The Importance of the Louisiana Purchase

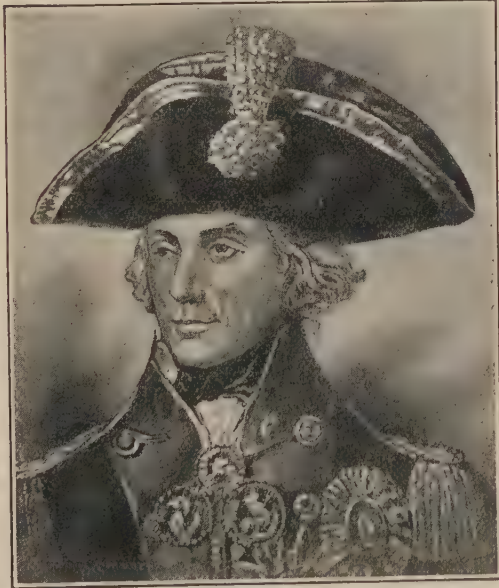
CHAPTER XII

THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE

England and France Trample upon Our Rights on the Sea.—

War was resumed between France and England in 1803. The next year Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed emperor of the French. The new emperor had always dreamed of conquering the English sea power and he was already planning to invade England.

"Masters of the channel for six hours," he said, "and we are masters of the world." But Napoleon's plans for the invasion of England had to be given up after Lord Nelson, the most famous of English sailors, destroyed the naval power of France at the battle of Trafalgar in 1805. Nelson fell at the moment of victory, but his words at Trafalgar, "England expects every man to do his duty," will live as long as the British Empire endures.



Lord Nelson

While the English and the French were fighting at sea Austria, Russia, and later Prussia declared war on the French emperor. Napoleon promptly struck these countries a series of smashing blows. In December, 1805, he defeated the com-

The victories
of Napoleon

bined armies of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz and forced Austria to sign a humiliating treaty of peace. The next year with equal swiftness he overwhelmed the Prussians and overran their country. In 1807 Napoleon defeated the Russians and compelled Prussia and Russia to make peace with him upon his own terms. Nearly all Europe was now in his power or under his influence.

**Commercial
warfare
between
France and
England**

England and France were still at war, but for a time it was a war in which there was little chance of actual fighting. England's control of the sea insured her against invasion, but on the other hand her army could not attack Napoleon anywhere with hope of true success. Under these circumstances each nation sought to conquer the other by ruining its trade and starving its people into submission. Ever since the war began, England had been trying to prevent American ships from carrying the sugar of the French colonies in the West Indies to the markets of Europe. She now declared a blockade of all the coast of Europe in the hands of the French. This meant that the ships of the British navy would try to capture any neutral vessels going to ports under French control. In reply Napoleon forbade all commerce with England and said that any ship that obeyed the English orders could be taken by the French. Practically, all this meant that no American ship could safely engage in European trade. If she escaped the English on the sea she was in danger of seizure by the French in the ports of the continent. It is little wonder that President Jefferson declared that England was "a den of pirates, and France a den of thieves," or that a member of Congress compared these two countries "to a tiger and a shark, each destroying everything that came in their way."

**Our trade
suffers**

**Our pros-
perity in
danger**

These restrictions upon neutral trade were a very serious matter to our people. Since the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars began in Europe in 1792, we had developed an immense foreign commerce. There was a great demand for our wheat, rice, beef, and pork in the countries at war, and our shipments of cotton were growing with amazing rapidity. Our swift sailing vessels not only carried our own exports but engaged in the rich traffic with the West Indies, South America, and the Far East. Our farmers were selling their products for high prices, our shipyards were busy, our sailors were employed at

high wages, and our shipowners were making huge profits. The country was never more prosperous than from 1795 to 1805. But in Jefferson's second term the efforts of England and France to ruin each other threatened to destroy the prosperity of the United States. Our people were justly angry with both France and England, but they were especially wrathful toward England because of her greater power to harm us on the sea.

In addition to her outrages upon our trade, England claimed the right to search our ships for British-born sailors, and, if she found them, to force them to serve in her navy. This was called impressment. It was lawful in British ports and on British merchant vessels, and the British attempted to justify the impressment of sailors on American ships on the ground that they were British subjects who had deserted from British ships. There was a measure of truth in this claim, for many British sailors did seek employment in the American merchant marine at this time on account of the better treatment and higher wages they received in it. If such sailors claimed to be naturalized American citizens it availed them nothing, for the British government denied their right to become naturalized in another country and declared that if they were once Englishmen they were always Englishmen. As a matter of fact, many native-born Americans were also impressed and forced to serve in the British navy. This impressment of American sailors was an outrage which would not have been borne if our country had then had a government strong enough to protect its own citizens.

Our sailors
impressed

The impressment of sailors from our merchant ships was bad enough, but worse followed. In 1807 the British warship *Leopard* stopped the *Chesapeake* of our navy off the Virginia coast and demanded the right to search her for British deserters. When the captain of the *Chesapeake* refused to permit the search the *Leopard* fired upon the American ship killing three and wounding eighteen of her crew. As the *Chesapeake* was not ready for battle she was compelled to surrender. The British then searched her and carried off four of her crew. They were all deserters from the British service, but three of them were native Americans who had been impressed. The news of this affair greatly angered the people. "Never," said Jeffer-

The *Leopard*
and the
Chesapeake

son, "since the battle of Lexington, have I seen the country in such a state of exasperation as at present." The attack upon the *Chesapeake* was an act of war, and unless followed by a prompt apology from England it ought to have been answered by a declaration of war against that country.

Our Government Fails to Maintain Our Rights by Peaceful Means.—The conduct of England in seizing ships and impressing our sailors soon led many Americans to clamor for war in defense of our rights. But President Jefferson and his secretary of state, James Madison, who became president in 1809, both thought war an unwise policy for the United States, and tried to maintain our rights on the sea by peaceful means. At Jefferson's suggestion Congress promptly passed the Embargo Act in December, 1807. This law said that our vessels must not sail to any foreign port and that foreign ships must not take cargoes away from our ports. Of course the embargo saved our ships, for they could not be captured if they remained at our own wharves. But Jefferson believed that it would also force England and France to respect our commerce. He thought that those countries must have our food products and our cotton and that they would soon agree to treat us fairly in order to get them.

Jefferson's
embargo
policy

Failure of
the embargo

The effect of the embargo was not what Jefferson expected. Our minister at Paris wrote that "it is not felt here and in England it is forgotten." In fact, English shipowners actually gained by it for it threw more of the world's trade into their hands. On the other hand, the embargo worked great injury to our own people. It angered our merchants and shipowners, who had been making enormous profits in spite of their loss of ships. You can imagine their feelings when they looked at their idle vessels and at the great stores of flour, bacon, and salt fish which they could not sell. Many of them evaded the hated law at every opportunity. The loss and suffering was even greater among the other classes of our people. The shipyards were deserted, great numbers of sailors were out of work, and in less than a year the farmers, who had long enjoyed a ready market and good prices, found that they could not sell their grain at any price.

By February, 1809, the discontent of the people became so great that Congress repealed the Embargo Act and passed in

its place the Non-Intercourse Act. This law forbade trade with England and France but permitted it with all other nations. A few days after the Non-Intercourse Act was passed Madison became president. In his inaugural address he said that he should follow the same peaceful policy which Jefferson had pursued. Madison tried in vain to get England to agree to a treaty recognizing our rights upon the sea. The non-intercourse policy proved as useless as the embargo in bringing England and France to respect our commerce. It was abandoned in 1810.

The Non-Intercourse law proves no better

Congress next tried another plan. It permitted trade with both England and France but declared that if either one of these nations would stop seizing American ships we would cease trading with the other. This was really an attempt to get England and France to bid against each other for our products. Napoleon took advantage of this law to secure American provisions which he needed. He told our minister that he would recall the decrees which interfered with our trade. President Madison took him at his word and once more we stopped trading with England. A little later Napoleon seized every American ship in the French ports and by this bit of trickery stole \$10,000,000 worth of American goods. In the meantime England continued, wherever possible, to capture our ships going to France. It was evident that the efforts to protect our rights on the sea by peaceful means were utter failures.

All peaceful means fail to protect our rights

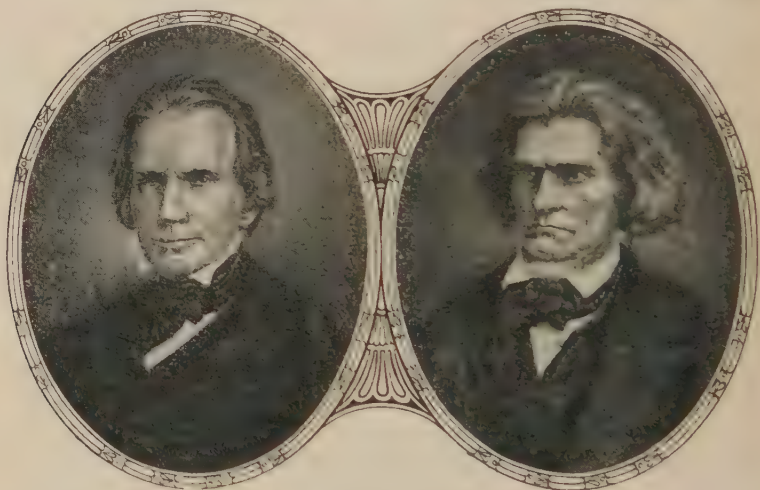
The "War Hawks" Have Their Way.—The United States had good reasons for war with both England and France at any time between 1807 and 1812. Over nine hundred American ships had been taken by the British, and more than five hundred and fifty had fallen into the hands of the French. Six thousand American citizens had been forced to serve in the British navy. Both nations had treated our remonstrances with haughty disdain. But a nation with a democratic government does not declare war until public opinion approves such a course, and in 1807 the majority of our people agreed with Jefferson in sincerely desiring peace. By 1812 this feeling had greatly changed.

Good reasons for war

The chief reason for the rising war spirit during the years just before 1812 was the news of the repeated outrages upon our ships and our sailors. Then, too, the hard times which

The rising war spirit

the country experienced after the passage of the Embargo Act led the people to blame England for their vanishing prosperity. The growing desire for war was strongest in the South and the West. The merchants and shipowners of New England, most of whom were Federalists, steadfastly opposed war because they knew it would ruin what commerce they had left. But in the other sections of the country there was a growing number of young Republicans who resented the insults to our national honor and were eager for war. The leaders who still clung



Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, Leaders of the "War Hawks"

to a peace policy called these ardent young men "war hawks." By 1810 the people were ready to follow the "war hawks," and in the election of that year enough of them were chosen to Congress to control that body.

Leaders of
the "war
hawks"

Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina were the chief leaders of the "war hawks." Each of these men was destined to play a great part in our history for the next forty years. Clay was a brilliant orator and Calhoun a convincing debater. Clay was a man of winning manners and always had a host of friends. He aroused the war spirit in Congress with words of fire. When asked, "What are we to gain by war?" he replied with ringing voice, "What are we

not to lose by peace? Commerce, character, and a nation's best treasure, honor!”

Just as the first session of Congress in which the “war hawks” sat had met in December, 1811, news came which still further exasperated the people against England. The Indians of the West, under the leadership of a great chief named Tecumseh, were plotting an attack upon the settlers. Before they were ready to strike they were defeated by General

Indian war in
the West



The Battle of Tippecanoe

William Henry Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe in Indiana. The real cause of the discontent among the Indians was the occupation of their hunting grounds by the settlers, but the people believed that the red men were incited against them by the British, and knew that they were supplied with guns and powder by British traders.

By 1812 the peace-loving Madison was ready to join the war party. All his plans for safeguarding American rights without fighting for them had failed. Moreover, he wanted to be reelected president in 1812, and he knew that his party would not support him if he clung to his peace policy. On June 1, 1812, the president sent a message to Congress in which he summed up our grievances against the British and

War
declared in
1812

suggested war. Some days later by a vote of almost two to one Congress declared war against Great Britain.

The war was a misfortune In 1812 the British were devoting every energy to the gigantic task of beating Napoleon. They did not want war with the United States. In their desire for peace they apologized for the attack upon the *Chesapeake* and returned to that vessel the three Americans they had taken from it; and only



The Surrender of Detroit

two days before our declaration of war the British ministers said they would stop seizing our ships. If there had been an ocean cable in those days our second war with England might possibly have been averted. It is a great misfortune that it ever came. In fighting Napoleon, as in fighting the Germans in the great war which began in 1914, England was defending freedom against one of its most dangerous foes. If our people had seen this fact clearly in 1812 they might have joined Great Britain against Napoleon. But the British can blame only themselves for the fact that we did not see it. Their

government, which was not yet democratic in any true sense, had long treated us in the most haughty and overbearing way and answered our diplomatic representations in a most contemptuous tone. For years we had borne in peace outrages upon our citizens and our commerce, committed almost in sight of our shores, that England would not have tolerated for a single hour.

Our Efforts to Invade Canada.—When the “war hawks” clamored for war against England in 1812 they intended to

invade and conquer Canada. Henry Clay boasted that the militia of Kentucky alone could overrun Upper Canada and take Montreal, and declared that the United States would dictate terms of peace in Quebec and Halifax. At first thought the conditions seemed to favor the success of this proposed attack upon Canada. The years 1812 and 1813 were years of war in Europe. England was intent upon defeating Napoleon and was pouring all her resources into the great war against

We plan
to invade
Canada



The Canadian Border in the War of 1812

him. She could spare few troops for the defense of her possessions in America.

If you look at the map you will see that there were three places on the Canadian frontier of 1812 at which it would be natural for invading American armies to cross the border. There was the route by Lake Champlain, over which armed men had sailed and marched so often in the French and Indian War and the Revolution. Farther west lay the Niagara frontier. The men of our western settlements would find it most convenient to strike at Canada by way of Detroit. All the land fighting during the first two years of the war was in these three regions.

The
Canadian
frontier

In 1812 nothing was accomplished on the direct road to Canada by Lake Champlain. An American force which crossed the Niagara River into Canada was defeated with the loss of a thousand men at Queenstown. On the Detroit frontier

American
failures

the attempt to invade Canada in 1812 ended in a still greater disaster, for General Hull surrendered Detroit and his entire army to the British without striking a blow. The British and their Indian allies were now in possession of the whole of Michigan Territory. In 1813 little worth mentioning was done near Lake Champlain or at Niagara.

Perry on
Lake Erie

In the meantime Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, a young officer of the navy, was building a fleet at Erie. This was no easy task. The timber for the ships had to be cut in the forest, and the ropes, sails, guns, and ammunition were brought with great difficulty from Philadelphia. At last the ships were launched, and on September 10, 1813, Perry met the British fleet in a fiercely contested battle near the western end of Lake Erie. When the *Lawrence*, Perry's flagship, was disabled, he abandoned it and was rowed in an open boat to the *Niagara*, with which he continued the fight until the English ships were all taken. "We have met the enemy and they are ours," was the famous message in which Perry reported his victory to General



Perry Leaving the *Lawrence* for the *Niagara*

Harrison, the commander of the western army.

We recover
our losses

Perry's control of Lake Erie enabled Harrison to retake Detroit. He then pursued the British and Indians into western Canada and defeated them at the battle of the Thames. Thus Perry and Harrison recovered in 1813 what Hull had lost in 1812. Early in 1814 General Jacob Brown led an army across the Niagara River and fought gallantly at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, but he was unable to win any Canadian territory. All our efforts to conquer Canada ended in failure.

The reasons for our failure to carry out the plans with which we began the War of 1812 are plain. The president was timid and lacking in energy, and most of the members of his cabinet were unfit for their places in time of war. The treasury was empty and the people were unwilling to pay higher taxes. It was difficult to borrow money because many of the rich men were opposed to the war and would not lend to the government. There were no good roads by which supplies

**The folly of
unprepared-
ness**



The Death of Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames

From an old print.

could be taken to the distant frontiers where they were needed. Our small armies were without trained officers and were led at first by incompetent generals, who were appointed on account of political influence rather than fitness to command. The untrained militia proved almost worthless on the field of battle. It would be hard to find a better example of the folly of national unpreparedness than that furnished by our experience in the War of 1812.

The Navy in the War of 1812.—The shame and humiliation of the defeats of our untrained and poorly led armies in 1812

**Our gallant
little navy**

and 1813 were lightened by the splendid victories of our gallant little navy. Not much was expected of the navy for we had only sixteen vessels of all sizes, while the British navy contained more than a thousand ships. But the fighting spirit of John Paul Jones still lived in our captains and our sailors, many of whom had received an invaluable training in a successful war



The Death of Lawrence
"Don't give up the ship!"

which they waged between 1801 and 1805 against the Barbary pirates on the northern coast of Africa.

Not long after war was declared, the American frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, met the British ship *Guerriere* off the coast of Nova Scotia. In half an hour after the *Constitution* began to fight, the *Guerriere* with all its masts shot away lay a helpless wreck upon the sea and was forced to surrender. The report of this victory was quickly followed by the thrilling news that the *Wasp* had taken the *Frolic*; the *United States*, the *Macedonian*; the *Hornet*, the *Peacock*; and

Our victories
on the sea

that the *Constitution*, now beginning to be called "Old Ironsides," had captured the *Java*. The victorious captains, Hull, Decatur, Bainbridge, and Lawrence, were the heroes of the hour. The British were correspondingly depressed. They had been so long supreme upon the sea that they did not know what to make of defeat. The reason for the American victories in these ship-duels was plain. The British fought with bulldog courage, as they always do. The Americans were equally brave, had better ships, and showed superior seamanship and more accurate gunnery.

But we did not always win. In 1813 Captain Lawrence in the *Chesapeake* fought the *Shannon* off the coast of Massachusetts before his crew was properly trained, and lost his life and his ship. When Lawrence was carried below, mortally wounded, he shouted to his men, "Don't give up the ship!" "Keep the guns going!" "Fight her till she sinks!" "Don't give up the ship!" became an inspiring war cry in our navy. A few months later Perry carried these words upon his flag when he captured the British fleet on Lake Erie.

Very soon after the war was declared, American privateers began to prey upon British commerce. A privateer is a ship owned and armed by private citizens and commissioned by the government to capture the ships of the enemy. Such commissions are called letters of marque and reprisal. As the captured ships and cargoes become the property of their captors, privateering, though full of risk, was very often profitable. The privateer *Perry*, for example, took twenty-two British merchant vessels in three months. The *Surprise* captured twenty-one in a cruise of thirty days. Enormous damage was inflicted upon British commerce in this way. Privateering is really a kind of legalized piracy and has long been abandoned by civilized nations. The United States has not resorted to the practice since the War of 1812.

In spite of the fine fighting record of our navy in the War of 1812, we must not think that we won the control of the sea from Great Britain. England had scores of battleships, any one of which was more than a match for our smaller vessels. One by one our ships were captured or blockaded in our own ports. The *Essex*, Captain Porter, was taken by two British ships off the coast of Chili, after a long cruise in the

"Don't give
up the ship"

Privateers

English sea
power
triumphs

Pacific in which she did great damage to British shipping. Before the close of the war it was almost impossible for one of our ships to put out to sea.

Spill **The British Attempts to Invade the United States.**—Early in 1814 Napoleon was defeated and forced to give up his throne. For the first time since 1803 there was peace in Europe. This fact changed the whole character of the War of 1812. England

**The fall of
Napoleon**



Commodore MacDonough's Victory on Lake Champlain

could now send scores of ships and thousands of veteran troops to America. Instead of trying to invade Canada we now had our hands full in resisting the British attempts to invade our own country.

In the summer of 1814 a British army of eleven thousand men started to invade New York along the route followed by Burgoyne in 1777. The success of this movement depended upon the control of Lake Champlain. When the British fleet on that lake reached Plattsburg Bay, it was met by the American squadron under Commodore Thomas MacDonough.

**Mac-
Donough's
victory at
Plattsburg
Bay**

The British had the stronger force in ships and guns, but in spite of the odds against him, MacDonough's skill and indomitable pluck won the day. Every British ship struck its flag and the British army at once fled to Canada. The fight in Plattsburg Bay was the greatest naval battle of the war, and MacDonough is entitled to the first place among the many gallant sailors of the War of 1812.

The entire eastern coast of the United States was blockaded during the summer of 1814, and in August a British fleet and army entered Chesapeake Bay. Landing below Washington the British marched toward the capital. The raw militia who had been called out to defend it ran at the first fire. The president and the other officers of the government fled in haste. The British entered the city, burned the Capitol, the White House, and the other public buildings, and then withdrew to their ships. Their fleet then moved up the bay toward Baltimore. After the British general

was killed in an unsuccessful attack upon that city the enemy withdrew from the Chesapeake. It was the sight of our flag still flying over Fort McHenry after the attack upon Baltimore which inspired Francis Scott Key to write "The Star-Spangled Banner."

In December, 1814, a great fleet carrying ten thousand British veterans appeared at the mouth of the Mississippi. General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, who had recently shown his skill and energy as a fighter by inflicting a crushing defeat upon the powerful Creek Indians in Alabama, hurried to the defense of New Orleans. Jackson built a very strong line of



The British Campaign against Washington and Baltimore

The British capture Washington

Jackson at New Orleans

breastworks below the city. On January 8, 1815, the British tried to storm these works, but the withering fire from the long rifles of the western frontiersmen mowed them down like grass. General Pakenham, the British commander, was killed, and nearly two thousand of his men lay dead or wounded in front of the American lines. Jackson's loss in this assault was only thirteen men. The battle of New Orleans ended the fighting in the War of 1812 and made Andrew Jackson its greatest hero. The attempts of the British to invade the United States in 1814 were no more successful than the efforts of the Americans to overrun Canada

had been in 1812 and 1813.

The Results of the War of 1812.—After the return of peace in Europe in the spring of 1814 neither Great Britain nor the United States had any good reason for prolonging the war between them. Negotiations for peace began in the summer of that year, but as neither side was willing to yield all that the other



Jackson's Campaign in the South

wanted, it was not until December 24, 1814, that a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent in Belgium. There was not a word in this treaty about the issues which caused the war. Each nation was left just as it was in 1812. At first thought it seemed that the thirty thousand lives and the two hundred million dollars which the War of 1812 cost the American people had been thrown away.

But as a matter of fact the War of 1812 had a very great effect upon our people. It taught them to think and feel and act like a nation. It showed them, through a bitter experience, that a nation ought to provide for its own defense. Never since 1812 has the United States been so unprepared to maintain the rights of its citizens as it was then. The skill and the valor of our navy in this war won respect abroad and gave our coun-

The Treaty
of Ghent

Our sense
of nationality
stimulated

try a better standing than ever before among the nations of the world. Henceforth our sailors and our commerce enjoyed the freedom of the sea.

The War of 1812 had a far-reaching influence upon the politics and the industries of our country. The Federalists of New England opposed the war, and this attitude made their party so unpopular that it ceased to exist after the election of 1816. The Republican party turned from timid leaders like Jefferson and Madison and began to follow bold and aggressive men like Clay and Calhoun. As the embargo, the non-inter-

Political and
industrial
results

course law, and the war cut off the supply of European goods, our people began to make more things for themselves. In this way the war wonderfully stimulated American manufacturing. When the charter of Hamilton's bank expired in 1811 the Republicans refused to re-charter it. But five years' experience



The House in Ghent Where the Treaty Was Signed Which Ended the War of 1812

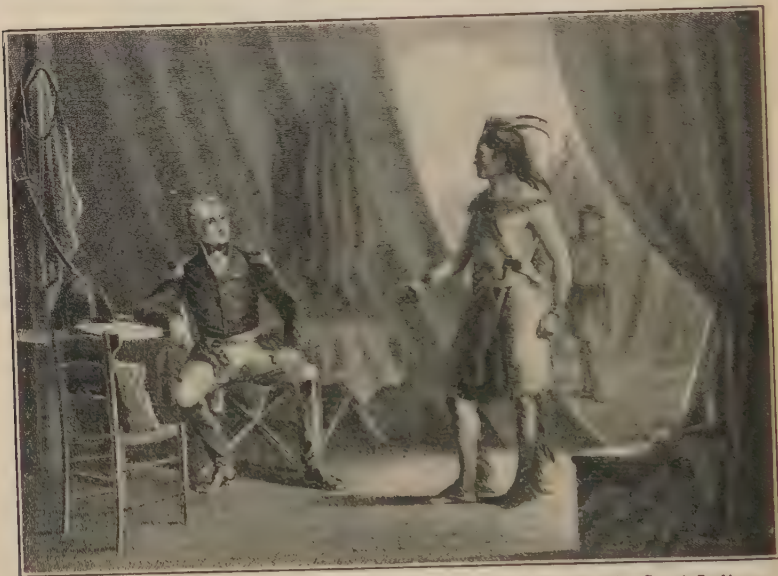
with the poor paper money of state banks brought them to establish a second United States Bank in 1816. Finally, the sad lack of good roads during the war led to a great demand for turnpikes and canals.

The War of 1812 marks the end of an era in our national life. For twenty-five years the French Revolution and the great Napoleonic wars which grew out of it had colored all our history. Our thoughts and our interests were largely determined by events across the sea. But after 1815 we turned our backs upon Europe and faced westward. The next generations were chiefly concerned with the problems of their own government and with the development of the marvelous resources of their own country.

The end of
an era

Boundary
agreements
with England

The Settlement of Our Boundaries.—The War of 1812 left us with some questions yet to be settled with our neighbors, England and Spain. The northern and western boundaries of the Louisiana purchase had never been definitely determined. In 1818 we agreed with England that the northern boundary of the United States from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains should be fixed at forty-nine degrees north latitude. But we also claimed that the country beyond the Rocky



An Interview between General Jackson and Weatherford, a Chief of the Creek Indians

Mountains which Lewis and Clark had explored belonged to us. England disputed this claim and said that the Oregon country was her territory. By the Oregon country both nations meant the present states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, and the Canadian province of British Columbia. In the treaty of 1818 England and the United States agreed to the joint occupation of Oregon. Joint occupation meant that for the present this rich region on the Pacific Coast should be free and open to traders and settlers from both nations.

Florida
acquired

For some time our people had been coming to believe that the Gulf of Mexico was their natural boundary on the

south. We gained our first foothold on the Gulf coast when we bought Louisiana. We claimed that Louisiana extended eastward along the coast as far as the Perdido River. With good reason Spain denied this claim, but between 1810 and 1813 the United States occupied West Florida by force and thus came into possession of the fine harbor of Mobile. The present state of Florida still belonged to Spain, but after the War of 1812 the people of our southern states complained loudly that its swamps were a refuge for pirates, robbers, runaway slaves and hostile Indians. Early in 1818 General Jackson pursued an Indian war party into Florida, captured the Spanish fort at Pensacola, and put to death two British subjects whom he accused of inciting the Indians to murder the settlers across the border. Spain was now given to understand that she **must** protect our citizens against marauders from Florida or cede that province to the United States. As she could not do the former she sold Florida to the United States in 1819 for five million dollars.

The western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase had been in dispute ever since 1803. We claimed that Louisiana included the vast territory of Texas, but this Spain would never admit. In the treaty by which we acquired Florida in 1819 we gave up our claim to Texas and agreed to a western boundary which ran in an irregular line from the mouth of the Sabine River to forty-two degrees north latitude and thence along that parallel to the Pacific. When Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821 this boundary line became our Mexican border.

Our Mexican
boundary
defined

The Monroe Doctrine.—Spain had possessed a vast empire in America ever since the sixteenth century. The Spanish colonial rule was grasping and tyrannical, and the people of Latin America were oppressed by heavy taxes and restrictions on their trade. During the Napoleonic wars in Europe the Spanish colonies on the mainland of America, following the example of the English colonies in 1775, rebelled against their mother country. San Martin and Simon Bolivar were the heroes of this struggle for freedom. By 1820 Mexico and the Spanish countries in South America had virtually won their independence though Spain still refused to acknowledge it.

Fall of the
Spanish
Empire in
America

Shortly after the final downfall of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815, the rulers of Prussia, Russia, and Austria signed an

The Holy
Alliance

agreement to help each other to govern their respective peoples in accordance with "the precepts of justice, charity, and peace." Nearly all the countries on the continent of Europe came into this union, which was called the Holy Alliance. The real purpose of the Holy Alliance was to prevent the growth of democratic ideas and to crush every attempt of the peoples of Europe to win the right to govern themselves. When Spain rose in rebellion against an oppressive king in 1820 the Holy Alliance suppressed the revolt and restored the tyrant to his throne. Spain now appealed to the Holy Alliance to help her get back her colonies in the New World.

Our interests threatened The Holy Alliance was disposed to grant this request, but England and the United States were strongly opposed to such action. England was developing a rich commerce with the Latin American countries and she did not want to see this trade go back to Spain. The United States shared in this growing trade, and our people warmly sympathized with the young republics to the south. Moreover, we feared that if Europe began to interfere with the affairs of America, there was no telling where such interference would stop. Russia already threatened the Pacific Coast. There were rumors that she meant to get California and that other European nations might seize territory in America.

The Monroe Doctrine England suggested that we join her in telling the Holy Alliance to keep its hands off the new Latin American states. But President Monroe and his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, preferred to act alone. In his message of December 2, 1823, Monroe declared that the American continents were no longer open to colonization by European powers. This was a notice to Russia to keep away from our Pacific Coast. It was heeded by that country, which soon agreed not to settle south of fifty-four degrees forty minutes, the southern limit of Alaska. With the Holy Alliance in mind, Monroe further declared that any attempt by European powers to oppose or to control the destiny of the Latin American states would be considered an unfriendly act by the United States. Europe was warned that it must not try to extend its political system to any part of North or South America. The warning was effectual, and the Holy Alliance made no effort to recover for Spain her former colonies in America.

Washington and Jefferson had advised their countrymen to steer clear of all entangling alliances with Europe. Monroe went one step farther, and warned the nations of Europe not to interfere in the affairs of the western hemisphere. Henceforth America was to be for Americans. The Monroe Doctrine was accepted as the settled policy of the United States. For nearly a century it has guarded the New World against the control of its affairs by the powers of Europe.

America for
Americans

REFERENCES.

Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*; Babcock, *The Rise of American Nationality*; Turner, *Rise of the New West*; Hart, *Formation of the Union*; Walker, *The Making of the Nation*; Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*; Histories of the United States by Adams, McMaster, Schouler, Wilson, and Channing.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Danger to Neutral Commerce. Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*, 195-208.
2. The Effect of the Embargo. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, III, 289-294.
3. The Affair of the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*. Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*, 182-194.
4. The Story of Tecumseh. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, III, 529-536.
5. The *Constitution* and the *Guerriere*. Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*, 88-97.
6. The *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*. Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*, 178-187.
7. Perry's Victory on Lake Erie. Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*, 262-271.
8. The Last Fight of the *Essex*. Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*, 291-300.
9. MacDonough at Lake Champlain. Brady, *American Fights and Fighters*, 258-271.
10. How Jackson Fought the Creeks. McMaster, *History of the American People*, IV, 159-172.
11. The Battle of New Orleans. Brady, *American Fights and Fighters*, 287-303; or Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*, 458-493.
12. The Results of the War of 1812. Babcock, *The Rise of American Nationality*, 187-201.
13. The Monroe Doctrine. Turner, *Rise of the New West*, 199-223.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Holmes, *Old Ironsides*; Key, *The Star-Spangled Banner*, Scollard, *The Battle of Plattsburg Bay*; Thomas Dunn English, *The Battle of New Orleans*.

Stories: Brady, *Reuben James*; Stephen Decatur; Seawell, *Midshipman Paulding*; Little Jarvis; Decatur and Somers; Pyle, *Within the Capes*; Read, *By the Eternal*; Altshefer, *Herald of the West*; Barnes, *Yankee Ships and Yankee Sailors*; *The Hero of Erie*; Atherton, *Rezanor*; Aimard, *Queen of the Savannah*; White, *El Supremo*.

Biographies: Seawell, *Twelve Great Naval Captains*; Schouler, *Thomas Jefferson*; Gay, *James Madison*; Stevens, *Albert Gallatin*; Gilman, *James Monroe*; Schurz, *Henry Clay*; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*.



QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. In what ways were our complaints against England before the War of 1812 similar to our grievances against Germany before our war with her in 1917? In what ways were they unlike?

2. What effect does a war in Europe have upon the price of American farm products? Why? Was this true during the great war which began in 1914?

3. Did England have a legal right to impress native-born Britons who were naturalized Americans? Try to find out if she claims such a right now.

4. In your opinion, was the Embargo Act a wise law? Why?

5. What is meant by "public opinion"? How is it made or changed?

6. Draw a map of the Canadian frontier illustrating the war on that border. Locate Erie, Queenstown, the Thames, Lundy's Lane, Fort McHenry, Plattsburg, the Lake of the Woods, the Sabine River.

7. What is meant by "preparedness"? What does the history of the War of 1812 teach us about it? What ought to be our permanent policy in regard to it?

8. Did England or the United States have the better claim to the Oregon country? Why?

9. Has the Monroe Doctrine been a wise policy? What changes have come in its interpretation? Ought we still to uphold it?

10. What are the two most important dates in this chapter? Why do you think so?

11. Question for debate: Resolved, that instead of making war on England in 1812 we ought to have joined the English in fighting Napoleon.

X

2. Make a list of the things that you can do that your great-grandparents could not do when they were children. What could they do that you cannot do?

3. What cities in our country are noted for the manufacture of textiles? What other power than steam is used to drive engines? What are our leading cotton-growing states? How much cotton is now grown in the United States each year?

4. Where are the chief deposits of iron ore in the United States? What American cities are famous for their manufactures of iron and steel?

5. Do you use anthracite or bituminous coal in your home? What does it cost a ton in your town?

6. Make a list of all the reasons you can find *for* and *against* a protective tariff.

7. What is meant by the statement that New York City stands at the starting point of the best road into the interior of the country?

8. In what ways was the railroad an improvement over the canal? What advantages had the canal over the railroad? Write an essay upon the influence of the railroads upon the history of our country.

9. In what ways has the industrial revolution changed our daily life?

CHAPTER XV

THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE WEST

A New Rush into the West.—The story of the westward march of our people through the gaps of the Alleghanies, across the vast valley of the Mississippi, and over the mountain trails which led to the rich country on the Pacific Coast is the most interesting and the most important feature of our history. We have seen how Boone and Robertson led the vanguard in this conquest of the continent and gained a foothold on the eastern margin of the Mississippi Valley in Kentucky and Tennessee. We have followed George Rogers Clark and his heroic frontiersmen as they won the Northwest from the British in the days of the Revolution. We have learned how the western lands were ceded by the states to the United States, how a public land system was devised, and how a territorial form of government was created by the great Ordinance of 1787. We have traced the life and growth of the early West until we saw Kentucky and Tennessee, and a little later Ohio, enter the Union as the first western states.

This first movement of our people into the West occurred during the Revolution and the years which followed it. Another and far greater wave of western settlement started just after the War of 1812. The rapid growth of the West during the years following 1815 was due to several causes. In the first place it was easier and safer to go West than ever before. The appearance of the steamboat on the western rivers encouraged settlement in that section. The victories of Harrison and Jackson over the Indians lessened the danger from Indian attacks and opened much new land to settlement. The government sold this land to settlers at two dollars per acre and made it easy for them to pay for it on the instalment plan. In the last chapter we saw how the sale of cheap English goods after the War of 1812 closed many of the mills and factories in our eastern states. Great numbers of the people who were thus thrown out of work sought new homes upon the cheap lands of

the West. At the same time the growing demand for cotton led many planters in the older states of the South to move to the fertile cotton lands in the territories bordering the Gulf of Mexico.

The Western Settlers.—The greater part of the settlers of the Middle West were the outcome of a natural sifting that was going on among the people of the older states in the East. The bold, the restless, those who loved adventure, and those who were dissatisfied with their condition or prospects at home and hoped to better them in a new country sought the frontier.

The quality
of the
pioneers



The First Mill in Ohio

The timid, the home-loving, and all who were contented with their lot remained behind. The stream of immigrants from the East was joined by another from Europe. After the close of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 many of the hardy sons of the countries of northern Europe came to America and a large part of them found homes in the Middle West. Sometimes these newcomers from Europe settled in groups, like the Swiss at Vevay, Indiana, or the Dutch at Holland, Michigan, but the most of them were scattered among the native Americans and soon became very much like them.

Three distinct classes of people helped to bring civiliza-

Three
classes of
settlers

The
frontiers-
man

The
permanent
farmer

The city
builder

Influence of
geography upon
western
growth

tion into the western wilderness. They have been thus described by one who lived among them:

"First comes the pioneer who depends for the subsistence of his family chiefly upon the natural growth of the vegetation called the 'range' and the proceeds of hunting. His implements of agriculture are rude, chiefly of his own make, and his efforts are directed mainly to a crop of corn and a turnip patch. A field of a dozen acres is enough for his occupancy. It is quite immaterial whether he ever becomes the owner of the soil. He is an occupant for the time being, pays no rent, and feels as independent as the 'lord of the manor.' He builds his cabin, gathering around him a few other families of similar tastes and habits and 'settles' till the range is somewhat subdued and hunting a little precarious.



A Pioneer Family Migrating to the West

"The next class purchase the land, add field to field, clear out the roads, throw rough bridges over the streams, put up hewn-log houses with glass windows

and brick and stone chimneys, occasionally plant orchards, build mills, school-houses, court-houses, etc., and exhibit the picture and forms of plain, frugal, civilized life.

"Another wave rolls on. The men of capital and enterprise come. The small village rises to a spacious town or city; substantial edifices of brick, extensive fields, orchards, gardens, colleges, churches are seen. Broadcloths, silks, and all the refinements, luxuries, elegancies, frivolities, and fashions are in vogue. Thus wave after wave is rolling westward."

The Geography of Western Settlement.—The physical geography of every country has a very great effect upon its history. This was especially true of the settlement of our middle western states. The Appalachian mountain system was a great barrier across the path of the westward march of our people, but once this barrier was crossed the westward flowing rivers like the Ohio and the Tennessee were natural

roads which made it easy for the pioneers to penetrate far into the western country. You will notice that this mountain barrier extends from New England to northern Georgia. Everywhere the frontiersmen were finding their way up the valleys and through the gaps of these mountains at about the same time. As the southern Appalachians are very much farther west than those to the north, the Virginians and Carolinians were laying the foundations of Kentucky and Tennessee at about the same time that the men of New England and the middle states were beginning to occupy central New York and western Pennsylvania. Kentucky and Tennessee were a great wedge of early settlement driven deep into the heart of the West.

The country north of the Ohio River, the land which now makes up the southern part of the great states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, was the second section of the Middle West to be settled. This region was occupied by people from the middle states and a few from New England who made their way over the mountains to Pittsburgh and thence by the Ohio River and its tributaries or by roads through the woods to their destination. To this territory north of the Ohio there came also many Virginians and Kentuckians, especially from among the people in those states who did not own slaves and who wished to live in a land where slavery was forbidden by law.

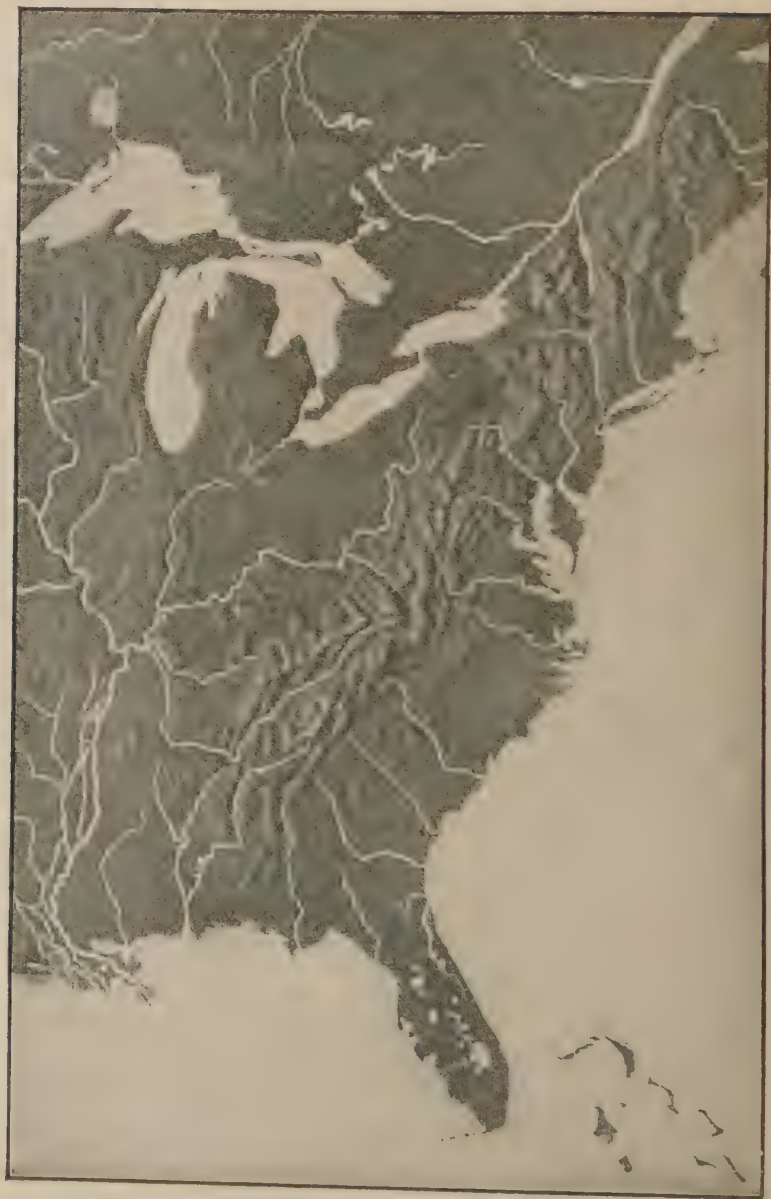
Settlement
of the North-
west
Territory

While the states which grew up in the Northwest Territory were being settled many of the more enterprising people of the South Atlantic states were making their way into the rich cotton lands which extend from South Carolina and Georgia to Texas. The Virginians could reach the Southwest by following the valleys of the upper Roanoke, the Holston, and the Tennessee rivers, or they could join the planters who were moving west from the Carolinas and Georgia and follow the easy roads to the West which ran south of the Appalachian mountains. The lower South had numerous rivers which led to the Gulf of Mexico and it was not difficult to make one's way by water along the Gulf coast.

Cotton lands
of the South
occupied

We have seen how the early settlers of Kentucky and Tennessee sent their produce down the Mississippi to market at New Orleans. It was natural that these river traders should hear glowing reports of the fertile lands beyond the Mississippi.

First
pioneers
west of the
Mississippi



Relief Map of the Eastern Half of the United States

After we bought the Louisiana Territory in 1803 so many Americans emigrated to New Orleans or settled upon the banks of the lower Mississippi and Red rivers that Louisiana was admitted into the Union in 1812. During the great rush into the West which followed the War of 1812 so many people found their way across the Mississippi into the lower valley of the Missouri River that this section was soon asking to be made a state. Many of the early settlers beyond the Mississippi came from Kentucky and Virginia. Daniel Boone, the famous frontiersman and Indian fighter in the early history of Ken-



A Flat Boat and Steamboats on a Western River

tucky, spent his last years as a pioneer upon the banks of the Missouri.

The country about the Great Lakes was the last region east of the Mississippi to be settled. The men of New England who made their way into the West through the Mohawk Valley were some years in occupying the good farming land in western New York. When they reached Lake Erie they passed along its southern shore into northern Ohio. The part of Ohio on the shore of Lake Erie is often called "the Western Reserve," because Connecticut had reserved a large part of it when she ceded her western land claim to the United States. After the steamboat appeared on the Great Lakes, pioneers from New York and New England began to go to Michigan, southern Illinois, and later Wisconsin, but these settlements in the country on the western lakes did not begin to grow rapidly until about 1835.

Later
develop-
ment about
the Great
Lakes

The Journey to the Frontier.—A trip from the Atlantic seaboard to the Middle West now means twenty-four hours **Going West**

spent in comfort and pleasure upon a fast express train. But to our pioneer ancestors one hundred years ago such a journey was a serious undertaking, lasting many days and often attended with great hardships. Moreover, to "go West" in those days meant the breaking of all the old home ties in the East. Those who started to seek new homes in Indiana or Mississippi knew that it was unlikely that they would ever again see the relatives and friends whom they left behind. Only the stout-hearted, the eager, and the ambitious dared to go.

Some of the poorer emigrants to the West carried all their



Going West One Hundred Years Ago

The journey
to the new
home

worldly possessions in packs upon their backs or in little carts which were drawn by hand. But most pioneer families prepared for the journey to their new western home by procuring a canvas-covered wagon into which they loaded clothing, bedding, a few dishes and cooking utensils, some needed tools, and provisions for the trip. This wagon was drawn by horses or mules, or sometimes by a yoke of oxen. The father or one of the sons drove the team. The mother and small children rode. Perhaps the larger boys and girls drove a few cattle behind the wagon. In this way they made fifteen or twenty miles a day. At night they stopped at a wayside tavern, or more frequently camped along the roadside near a spring or creek.

The family that moved West in this way was very likely to find company upon the road. In fact it was a common thing for a group of such families to join together for the journey. During the great rush into the West after the War of 1812 the main highways leading to that section were covered by a stream of emigrants. A tollgate keeper in Pennsylvania reported that sixteen thousand people passed this gate bound west between March and December, 1817. The same year two hundred and sixty emigrant wagons were counted going by one tavern in western New York in nine days. A traveler

The stream
of emigrants



An Old Pennsylvania Tollgate and Bridge

in the South says that he fell in with crowds of emigrants bound for the cotton lands of Alabama. He declares that he counted two hundred and seven wagons, twenty-nine herds of cattle, twenty-seven droves of hogs, and more than three thousand eight hundred people.

The following extracts from the diary of a Connecticut girl who traveled with her family to Ohio in 1810 will help us to realize what such a journey was like in those days. "Every toll gatherer and child that sees us inquires where we are going.—The bridge over the Delaware is elegant, I think. It is covered and has sixteen windows each side.—It is amusing to see the variety of paintings on the inn-keeper's signs.—We are obliged to sleep every and any way at most of the inns now. I have

Experiences
of a pioneer
girl

learned to eat raw pork and to drink whiskey. Don't you think I shall do for a new country?—We have been nearly twenty miles today and I have been obliged to walk up hill, till we are all very tired. From what I have seen and heard, I think the state of Ohio will be well filled up before winter. Wagons without number every day go on. One went on containing forty people. We almost every day see them with eighteen or twenty, one stopped here tonight with twenty-seven.—We are over the sixth mountain and at an inn at the foot of it. This mountain is called worse than any of them, it is only six miles over. We have only come eight today and I have not been in the wagon."

How the
southern
planter
moved West

When the southern planter moved with many slaves to the cotton lands in Alabama or Mississippi it was necessary for him to take tools and work-animals with him in order to set the slaves to work at once upon his new plantation. No doubt the journey was a joyous occasion to the slaves, to whom for the time it meant a release from hard work. A traveler who met a pioneer planter moving into the West has given us this charming picture of what he saw: "The cattle with their hundred bells; the negroes with delight in their countenances, for their labors were suspended and their imaginations excited; the mistress and children strolling carelessly along in a gait that enables them to keep up with the slow-traveling carriage. Just before nightfall they come to a spring or a branch where there is water and wood. The pack of dogs set up a cheerful barking. The cattle lie down and ruminate. The team is unharnessed. The large wagons are covered so that the roof completely excludes the rain. The cooking utensils are brought out. The blacks prepare a supper which the toils of the day render delicious; and they talk over the adventures of the past day and prospects of the next."

Settling on
forest land

The Life of the Pioneer.—After a toilsome though interesting journey the members of the pioneer family at last reached the scene of their future home. If they were the first comers in the vicinity the unbroken forest was all that welcomed them. If other settlers had preceded them they were sure to be greeted with neighborly offers of help. In either case their situation was a lonely one. By day they were shut in by the surrounding woods and at night the stillness was only

broken by the howl of the wolf and the mournful cry of the whippoorwill.

But the newcomers were soon too busy to be homesick. Their immediate needs were shelter and food. Their first shelter was apt to be a rude shed called a "half-faced camp." Three sides of this camp were built of poles and its roof was covered with branches and bark. The fourth side was left open and a fire built in front of it. When Abraham Lincoln was a little boy he lived with his parents for a whole year in such a camp in Indiana.

The first camp

As soon as a temporary shelter for his family was built the pioneer began a little clearing in the forest in order to plant his first crop.

The first crop

"His echoing axe the settler swung
Amid the sea-like solitude,
And rushing, thundering, down were flung
The Titans of the wood."

When a little patch had been cleared the ground was broken up, and corn and potatoes were planted among the stumps and logs. If the new home had not been located near a spring a well had to be dug. During the first few months the settlers depended upon hunting for most of their supply of food. Fortunately wild turkeys, deer, and bears were usually easy to find. But a steady diet of venison and bear's meat must have grown very tiresome, and you can imagine with what joy the children welcomed the first roasting ears of corn.



A Half-faced Camp

As soon as the settler could cut the logs his neighbors helped him raise a substantial log house. The log houses of the Middle West were very much like those which had been

The log house

built on the frontier ever since colonial times. The tables, benches, and other furniture in them were mostly homemade. The garden seeds brought from the old home in the East were planted near the house. If the settler was a thrifty and industrious man his new home soon began to justify the picture of it painted by one of our poets:

"His roof adorned a lovely spot,
'Mid the black logs green glowed the grain,
And herbs and plants the woods knew not
Throve in the sun and rain."

Clearing the
land

After his house was built the settler undertook the heavy task of clearing his land of forest. He began by "girdling" the trees. This was done by cutting a ring through the bark around the lower part of the trunk deep enough to prevent the sap from rising. In a short time the girdled tree died. Grain could then be sown among the standing trunks. Later, when the dead trees were so dry that they would burn readily they were cut down. Some of the logs were split into rails to fence the fields. Most of them, however, were rolled together into piles and burned. The settlers helped each other in these "log-rollings" which were often festive occasions. It took a lifetime to clear a large farm of heavy timber. When the settlers reached the prairie lands of Illinois and Missouri they escaped this laborious task. By simply breaking up the sod with a plow the prairie farmer could bring a large farm under cultivation in two or three years.

Growth of a
farm home in
the West

But a prosperous farm anywhere in the forest-covered region of the Middle West was the result of the labor of many years. It began with a little clearing and a rude cabin in the midst of the encircling forest. As time passed the clearing was enlarged, two or three small fields were fenced in, and a corn crib, a stable, and a larger log house were built. Perhaps an orchard was set out. Later still, after a sawmill was set up in the neighborhood, a small frame house and a barn were erected. In the meantime, field was slowly added to field as the forest was cut away. At last we see a fine farmhouse, a large barn, gardens, orchards, and far-reaching fields from which all the stumps have disappeared.

The first pioneers in the region bordering the Gulf of Mexico lived like those of the Ohio Valley in log cabins in little clearings along the rivers. But when the cotton lands of the lower South began to attract prosperous planters with money and many slaves the southern frontier came to differ greatly from the northern. The pioneer cotton planter bought a large tract of land, often several thousand acres in extent. He moved to this land with his family carriage, his pack of hounds, and a long train of slaves. Some of the negroes who were carpenters and masons soon built a house for the master and cabins for the slaves. The possession of many laborers made it possible to clear the land quickly, and in a few years a great cotton plantation was developed.

**Develop-
ment of a
new cotton
plantation**

While the pioneers were clearing the land and developing



Courtesy of Dept. of Immigration, South Dakota

A Modern Western Farm

their farms and plantations, they were planting the other institutions of a civilized community. From the first the western settlers felt the need of establishing law and order. It was natural that they should set up local governments like those they had known in their old homes in the East. In those parts of the North where most of the settlers came from New England, the township became the more important unit of local government. In the South local affairs were managed by a county government patterned after that of Virginia and the Carolinas. In the middle region a mixed form of local government much like that of Pennsylvania came to prevail.

**Local
government
set up**

The settlers of the West also brought with them the ideas about education and religion which they had cherished in their former homes. North of the Ohio River public schools were early established, but in the South they made their appearance

**Schools and
churches
established**

much more slowly. The earliest religious meetings in the Middle West were held by traveling ministers called "circuit riders." The camp meeting, a sort of combination of picnic and religious service, was very popular during the early history of this section. In the course of time, as the population grew, all the leading religious denominations organized permanent churches.

First states
added to the
Union

New States.—Five new states were added to the original thirteen before the War of 1812. Vermont was admitted into the Union in 1791, Kentucky in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, Ohio in 1803, and Louisiana in 1812. The rapid settlement of the West which began after the War of 1812 resulted in the formation of a new state each year for six years beginning with 1816. The eighteen states which made up the Union when the war closed had grown to be twenty-four by 1821, just half the number that were in the Union a hundred years later.

Rapid growth
of the
Middle West

This rapid increase in the number of states in the Union was due to the marvelous growth of the Middle West at that time. This growth was especially marked in the old Northwest Territory. When Ohio became a state in 1803 it contained about fifty thousand inhabitants. In 1820 its population was nearly six hundred thousand—more people than were then living in the old state of Massachusetts. The population of the Territory of Indiana was twenty-eight thousand in 1810. Indiana became a state in 1816, and by 1820 it had nearly one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, while, farther west, Illinois was beginning to grow rapidly and was admitted to the Union in 1818.

Rush into
the lower
South

When the first American pioneers started to go to Louisiana after its purchase from the French in 1803, some of them settled on the east side of the Mississippi River in the Territory of Mississippi. After General Jackson broke the power of the Creek Indians in 1813 there was, as we have seen, a great rush to occupy the cotton lands of the lower South. In 1817 Mississippi became a state. Its population doubled between 1810 and 1820. Even more rapid was the growth of Alabama, which came into the Union two years later, in 1819.

Missouri and
Maine

When the people who were crowding into the Territory of Missouri sought its admission into the Union they were delayed for a time by a great controversy over the question whether the

proposed state should be slave or free. We shall hear more of this controversy presently when we study the history of slavery in our country. Just at this time, Maine, which had been a part of Massachusetts, wanted to become a separate state. Massachusetts gave her consent and Maine was admitted as a free state in 1820. This made it easier to admit Missouri as a slave state in 1821.

Nine of the eighteen states in the Union in 1815 were free states and nine were slave states. In admitting the new states which were added to the Union during the next six years it is evident that Congress was trying to maintain a balance between

Free states
and slave
states



Cincinnati in 1802

From an old print.

the North and the South. The free state of Indiana in 1816 was followed by the slave state of Mississippi in 1817. Free Illinois in 1818 was immediately offset by slave-holding Alabama in 1819. Maine in 1820 and Missouri in 1821 still maintained the equilibrium between the sections.

For years after 1821 the new states of the Middle West were filling up with settlers. It was fifteen years before another state was added to the Union. Then in 1836 Congress admitted the slave state of Arkansas, and early in 1837 restored the balance between slavery and freedom by making the free state of Michigan.

Arkansas
and
Michigan

The Rising Western Cities.—While the pioneers were swarming into the new states in the Middle West, towns and

How a town began cities were springing up all over that region as if by magic. As soon as there was a considerable number of settlers in any locality a store was apt to be opened at some convenient point. Soon a tavern made its appearance near the store. Presently a blacksmith shop, a sawmill, and possibly a gristmill were set up. The people who were employed in these places naturally built their homes near by, and in this way a



From Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

Traffic on the Big Rivers

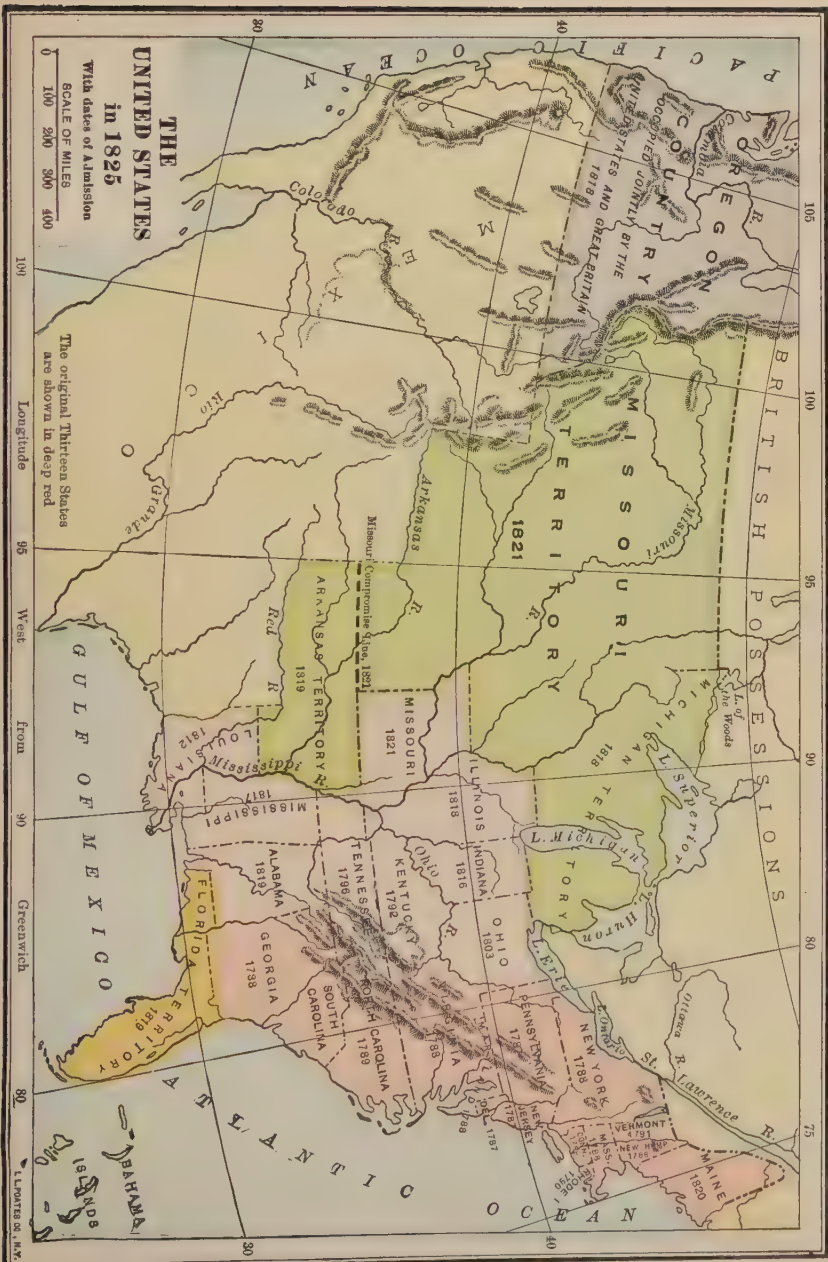
The river front at Louisville, Kentucky, one of the half dozen important cities on the Ohio.

town began. Often a frontier town was named for a leading settler, as Zanesville or Vicksburg.

Great numbers of these little frontier towns never grew to be more than villages. But if such a village were the natural market and trading center of a large farming district, and in addition if it were favorably situated upon a navigable river or a main traveled road, it soon grew into a large town with many stores, a bank, and a newspaper. By and by a railroad came to add to its trading facilities, and a factory was built to give employment to its surplus labor. The Mississippi Valley is dotted with hundreds of thriving little cities which have grown up in this way.

Because of their favorable situation for commerce some of

How some towns grew to be cities



the western towns grew to be great cities. In the early history of the West, New Orleans was the natural market of the whole Mississippi Valley. The pork, flour, and tobacco of the states drained by the upper Mississippi and its tributaries, as well as the sugar and cotton of Louisiana and Mississippi, came to New Orleans and were carried thence by ocean-going ships to the markets of the world. After the settlement of Alabama, Mobile grew to be a cotton market second only to New Orleans. After the steamboat appeared on the western rivers New Orleans not only bought the produce of the interior, but began to send the western settlers the imported goods which they needed. This fact helped to make the merchants of the eastern cities more eager for the opening of canals and railroads to the West.

**Importance
of New
Orleans**



From Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Unloading Iron-ore Ships at Cleveland

Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis were the great river ports of the early West. Pittsburgh commanded the entrance to the greatest waterway to the western country, and early began to make the iron wares which that country demanded. Cincinnati was the commercial center of a vast and fertile farming region in Kentucky and Ohio. It built a large part of the river steamboats and became the first great pork packing city in the West. Louisville owes its beginning to the falls in the Ohio River which made it necessary to transfer flatboat cargoes at this point in times of low water. It became the great export center for the tobacco of Kentucky. St. Louis was the natural trading point for the settlers of Missouri and southern Illinois. It was also for many years a great fur market to which came the rich peltries of the far West.

**The great
river ports**

Important
cities on the
Great Lakes

Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Chicago owe their early growth to their favorable situation upon the Great Lakes. Buffalo was the natural starting point for steamboat traffic upon these inland seas. The opening of the Erie canal contributed wonderfully to its importance. Cleveland began to grow when a canal connected its harbor with the interior of Ohio and made it the market for the northern part of that state. Nature made Detroit and Milwaukee the great lake ports of their respective states. Chicago owes its preëminence to its superb location near the head of Lake Michigan, at the natural



Chicago in 1832

From an old print

meeting place of all the great railroads of the upper Mississippi Valley. Chicago was founded later than most of the other cities of the Middle West, but it has far outstripped them all.

Manufac-
turing
centers

All of the great river and lake ports which have just been mentioned owe their early growth to their natural advantages for trade. But after the factory system of manufacturing was introduced into the Middle West, and when that section was covered with a network of railroads, they all became great manufacturing centers. Their later development has been industrial quite as much as commercial.

The Influence of the West.—The War of 1812 quickened the spirit of nationality in our country. The growth of this

spirit was further promoted by the rapid settlement of the West which followed that war. The people of the older states in the East had a keen sense of local pride and of state patriotism. The movement into the West brought together people from the different states and sections of the country and made them acquainted with one another. It helped to break down their odd local prejudices and to make them realize, as never before, that they were all citizens of a common country. The pioneers of the West rapidly came to feel that they were no longer New Englanders or Virginians but Americans.

The West
helped to
make
Americans

The settlement of the West made our country more truly democratic. In the states upon the Atlantic seaboard people differed greatly in wealth and in social position. But on the frontier, men were judged by what they could do and not by their money or their position. Where all men were poor and all worked for a living, as they did on the frontier, each man felt himself the equal of every other man. With this feeling of equality in his heart the pioneer believed



Frontier life
made men
democratic

© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

A Glimpse of Modern Chicago

that every man ought to vote and that the majority ought to rule. These beliefs are the basis of democratic government. Presently the democratic ideals of the West began to influence the older states in the East. In this way the rising West helped to make the whole nation more democratic.

Life in a new country had a marked effect upon the manners and customs of the settlers. The life of the pioneer was one of great privation and incessant toil. He had left behind him most of the civilizing and refining influences of his eastern home—its schools, its churches, and its books. It is no wonder

It also made
them brave
and self-
reliant

that the frontiersman grew careless in dress and speech and sometimes free and easy or even rude in manner. But life in the New West gave men more than it took from them. It taught them to think and act for themselves. It made them frank, neighborly, and hospitable. It gave them resourcefulness, self-reliance, and a broader outlook. In a word, it helped to develop the finest qualities of the American people.

New
questions

The rise of the Middle West in the period between 1815 and 1840 brought our country face to face with several new and difficult questions. Among these were the crying need for internal improvements, the necessity of making the government more truly representative of the people, and, most important of all, the extension of slavery into the western lands. We must next turn our attention to the efforts of our people to solve these problems and others which were pressing upon them.

REFERENCES.

Turner, *Rise of the New West*; Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*; Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*; Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vols. IV and V; The Histories of the Western States, especially Phelan, *Tennessee*; Shaler, *Kentucky*; King, *Ohio*; Dunn, *Indiana*; Carr, *Missouri*; Cooley, *Michigan*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. How Geography Influenced the Spread of Population in the Mississippi Valley. Semple, *American History and Its Geographic Conditions*, 150-176.
2. The Rush into the West. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, IV, 381-389.
3. Journeying to the Ohio Country. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, 135-148.
4. A Voyage down the Ohio. Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries*, III, 459-463.
5. Life on the Frontier. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V, 152-156.
6. Pioneer Life in Indiana When Lincoln was a Boy. Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 38-42.
7. Pioneer Life in the Ohio Valley. Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*, 149-158.
8. The People of the Woods. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 463-467.

9. Local Government in the West. Fiske, *Civil Government in the United States*, 89-95.
10. Western Trade. Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, 96-106.
11. The Development of the West. Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, 84-95.
12. The Evolution of the American Frontier. Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*, 238-248.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Street, *The Settler*; Gallagher, *The Mothers of the West*.

Novels: Eggleston, *Roxy*; *The Graysons*; *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*; *The Circuit Rider*; Kirkland, *Zury*; *The McVeys*; Parrish, *When Wilderness Was King*; Altsheler, *Wilderness Trail*; Kirkman, *The Romance of Gilbert Holmes*; Gale and Wheeler, *A Knight of the Wilderness*; Howells, *Recollections of Life in Ohio*.

Biographies: Clay, *Henry Clay*; Roosevelt, *Thomas H. Benton*; Meigs, *Life of Thomas H. Benton*; Lewis, *When Men Grew Tall, or the Story of Andrew Jackson*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. Show why the War of 1812 influenced the settlement of the West. Trace upon a map the routes by which settlers from the East reached the Middle West.
2. Judging by what followed the close of the long Napoleonic War in 1815, are European immigrants likely to come to America in large numbers after the World's War which began in 1914?
3. Is a river or a mountain range the better natural boundary between two countries? Why? What are the chief railroads crossing the Appalachian mountain system now? What determined their routes?
4. In 1816 a New Jersey farmer moved with his family to Indiana. How did this family travel to their new home? What did they take with them? What did they do during their first year on the frontier?
5. Contrast pioneer life in Indiana and in Mississippi. Contrast pioneer life in a forest country and on the prairie. What are the special advantages of each? What influence did life on the frontier have upon the pioneers? Does the life of the pioneer appeal to you? Why?
6. Point out upon the map all the new states named in this chapter. Why did Congress try to maintain a balance between the free and the slave states in admitting new states?
7. Is New Orleans as important a city now as it was one hundred years ago? Why? What geographical facts determine the location of your home city or of the city nearest your home?

CHAPTER XVI

THE TIMES OF ANDREW JACKSON



Review

The Beginning of New Political Parties.—In an earlier chapter we saw how our first political parties, the Federalist and the Republican, grew up while Washington was president. The Federalists governed the country from 1789 to 1801. The Republicans triumphed in the election of 1800, and for the next twenty-four years their three great leaders from Virginia, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, held the presidential office. During this long period of Republican rule the Federalist party steadily declined, and not long after the War of 1812, which it opposed, it ceased to exist. Because of this cessation of party strife, Monroe's administration is often called the "Era of Good Feeling."

New political leaders

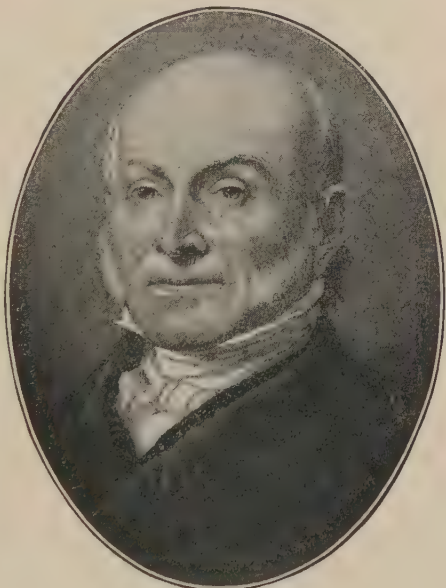
The first five presidents of our country had all taken an active part in the Revolution. During the "Era of Good Feeling" a new group of younger political leaders came upon the scene. John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, William H. Crawford, and Andrew Jackson were the most conspicuous leaders of this group of younger statesmen. Adams, the son of the second president, had been minister to several foreign countries and was the secretary of state in Monroe's cabinet. Webster, the most famous orator in our history, was just entering Congress from Massachusetts. Henry Clay of Kentucky was the Speaker of the House of Representatives most of the time from 1811 to 1825. Calhoun of South Carolina, Monroe's secretary of war, was one of the young "war hawks" who with Clay at their head had brought on the War of 1812. Crawford, a shrewd politician from Georgia, was the secretary of the treasury. Andrew Jackson of Tennessee was the hero of the battle of New Orleans. Before President Monroe's second term ended the keen feeling of nationality which swept over the country as a result of the War of 1812 was no longer quite so ardent as it had been. Men were beginning to think once more of the special interests of their states or sections. While all the new leaders loved the Union, each of

them was a champion of his own section of the country. Adams and Webster spoke for the North, and especially for New England. Calhoun and Crawford upheld the rights of the slave-holding South. Clay and Jackson were true representatives of the rising West.

The "Era of Good Feeling" soon became a time of very hard feeling in politics. Each of the new leaders named in the last paragraph cherished an ambition to be president, and when the election of 1824

The election
of 1824

drew near, all of them except Webster became candidates for the office. Presently Calhoun withdrew, content for the time with the vice-presidency. The other four remained in the race to the end. As none of them had a majority of the electoral vote, the election of a president was thrown into the House of Representatives for the second time in our history. The Constitution limits the house in its choice to the three candidates receiving the largest



John Quincy Adams

number of electoral votes. Clay was fourth on the list and so could not be chosen. Jackson had received the largest number of electoral votes, but through Clay's influence the house elected Adams.

Jackson and his friends at once charged that there had been a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay. They said that Clay had induced his friends in the House of Representatives to vote for Adams because Adams had promised to appoint him secretary of state. There was no truth in this charge

Jackson men
and Adams
men

but many people believed it, especially after Adams gave Clay the first place in his cabinet. Jackson's friends declared that because their leader had the largest number of electoral votes he was the real choice of the country. While all the voters professed to be Republicans during Adams' administration they were really divided into two factions, the Jackson men and the Adams men. The followers of Jackson were strong enough in Congress to prevent the passage of nearly all the measures that Adams favored. The Adams men were handicapped by the personality of their leader. Adams was a very able, honest, and intensely patriotic man of wide experience in governmental affairs, but in spite of his many splendid qualities he lacked the power to arouse enthusiasm or to win friends.

Democrats
and Whigs

In 1828 Adams and Jackson were again rivals for the presidency and this time Jackson won by a large majority. During Jackson's eight years in the White House the two new parties were fully organized. At first the supporters of Jackson called themselves Democratic-Republicans, a name that had frequently been applied to the Jeffersonian Republicans ever since that party began. Presently the word Republican fell into disuse, and the friends of Jackson were called the Democrats. This was the beginning of the Democratic party which still exists. After 1828 Henry Clay became the real leader of the Adams men, who began to call themselves National Republicans. Before the close of Jackson's administration the National Republicans took the name of Whigs. The Whig party favored a protective tariff, internal improvements at national expense, and a national bank, and believed in a broader construction of the Constitution than the Democrats did. The Democrats opposed all these measures. The Democrats and the Whigs were our two great political parties for twenty-five years after Jackson became president.

The
Jacksonian
period

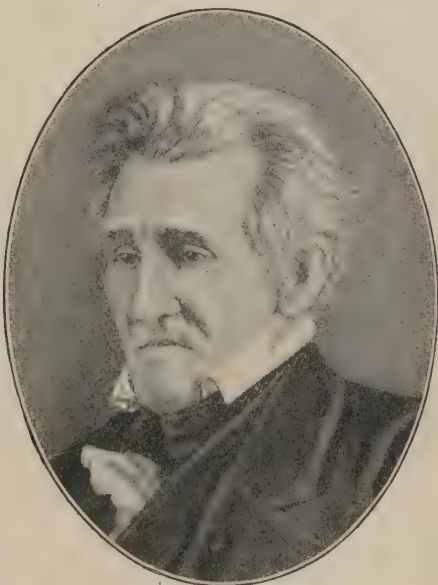
Andrew Jackson.—Andrew Jackson was president of the United States from 1829 to 1837, but he so completely dominated the country from 1825 until 1841 that this time is often called the Jacksonian period of our history.

Jackson was born on the western border of the Carolinas in 1767. His parents were Irish emigrants who had recently settled in that region. Though only a boy he saw service in the Revolutionary War and was for a short time a prisoner

in the hands of the British. After the war he studied law, and in 1788 he settled on the western frontier at Nashville, Tennessee. During a large part of his life he lived on his plantation, the "Hermitage," near Nashville. Jackson was a born leader of men and soon won prominence in politics and as an Indian fighter. He was the

Jackson, the
frontiersman
and soldier

first representative of Tennessee in the national House of Representatives, served for a short time in the United States Senate, and was later elected chief justice of the Supreme Court of his state. Jackson found his great opportunity as a general in the War of 1812. In a brilliant campaign he broke the power of the Creek Indians, and at the battle of New Orleans he inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon the British. His victory at New Orleans made Jackson the idol of the country and in the end won him the presidency.



Andrew Jackson

This tall, slender soldier with his mass of gray hair and his flashing eyes was one of the most remarkable men in our history. When on the march against the Indians Jackson could endure so much hardship that his soldiers said he was "tough as hickory," and the nickname "Old Hickory" clung to him all the rest of his life. In times of danger he had the cool head, the quick eye, and the stout heart of the frontiersman. He was a man of tremendous energy, hot temper, and iron will. Jackson was sometimes hasty in judgment and never had any patience with men who did not agree with him. He was obstinate in the extreme. There was much truth in the words

"Old
Hickory"



which a humorous writer of the time puts in his mouth, "It has always bin my way, when I git a notion, to stick to it till it dies a natural death; and the more folks talk agin my notions, the more I stick to 'em." With all his faults, and he had many of them, Jackson was honest, truthful, kind, and courteous



The "Hermitage"
Home of Andrew Jackson near Nashville, Tennessee

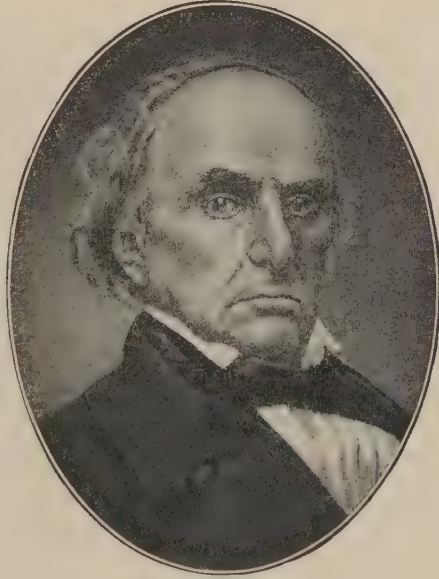
when he chose to be, and he loved and served his country with a deep and abiding passion. He was our greatest president between Jefferson and Lincoln.

Love of the Union and belief in the right of the people to rule had been growing in the hearts of our countrymen ever since the adoption of the Constitution. We have called these feelings nationality and democracy. The influence of Jackson did much to promote and unite them. When he became president the clashing interests of the North and the South were already beginning to check the growth of a national spirit. Jackson was devoted to the Union and did all in his power to preserve and strengthen it. All our earlier presidents had wide knowledge and thorough training in public affairs. Jackson knew little of books and was untrained except as a soldier. But he knew the common people from whom he sprang, and he

A champion
of the com-
mon people

believed in their right and fitness to govern themselves. We have seen why the pioneers of the new West were more democratic than the people who remained in the older sections of the country. Jackson, our first president from the West, was a true son of the frontier in this respect and one of the stoutest champions of the rights of the common people in all our history.

The people loved him and thronged to Washington to see him inaugurated. Many of them came on horseback or in carts for hundreds of miles. Daniel Webster wrote at the time that he never saw such a crowd before and that the people really seemed to think that General Jackson's election had rescued the country from some dreadful danger. After listening to his inaugural address this vast throng escorted "Old Hickory" from the Capitol to the White House.



Daniel Webster

The Spoils System.—There were many office-seekers in the great crowd which came to Washington to see General Jackson inaugurated. They wanted the new president to dismiss the postmasters and other office-holders under the national government who had not voted for him, and to give them the places thus made vacant. They knew that the earlier presidents had selected honest and capable men for office, and had kept them in their places as long as they did their work well. But they also knew that for years it had been the practice in New York, Pennsylvania, and some of the other states for the victors in a state election to replace all the office-holders of the

The hope of
the office-
seekers

opposite party with their own political friends. They hoped that Jackson would punish his opponents and reward his friends in the same way, and they were not disappointed.

Jackson introduces the spoils system

Jackson believed that some of the men who had held office under Adams were dishonest. He knew that many of them had opposed him, and he never could quite understand how anyone who opposed him could be a true patriot. He attached little value to training and experience, and thought that if men were only honest, one of them could perform the duties of an office quite as well as another. Jackson removed great numbers of office-holders and filled their places with his political followers. This practice thus first introduced into the federal government came to be called the spoils system from the words of a New York politician who defended it by saying, "We see nothing wrong in the principle that to the victors belong the spoils of the enemy."

The evils of the spoils system

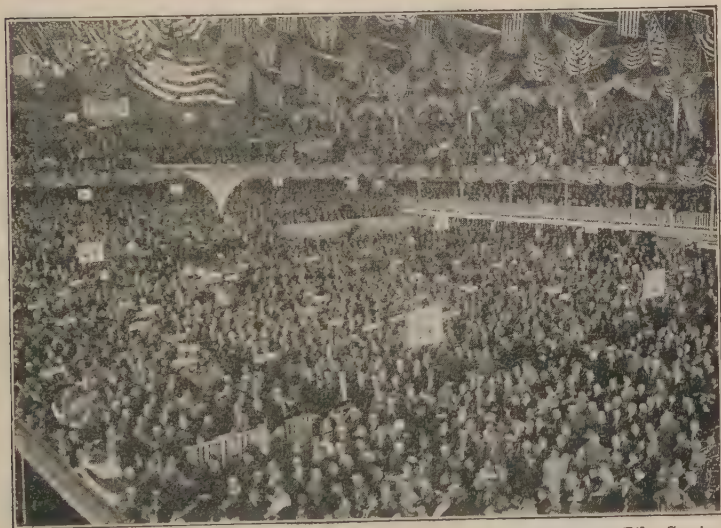
The introduction of the unwise and harmful spoils system into our national life is a dark blot upon the record of President Jackson. It is a practice for which no good thing can be said. It is unbusinesslike and lacking in good sense. No banker or merchant would think of discharging his experienced and efficient clerks to make places for a set of new and untried men whose political opinions he liked better, and it is just as foolish for the government of a city, state, or nation to do so. Moreover, the spoils system has done more than anything else to make our politics corrupt and dishonest. Men are tempted to be unfair or to cheat in elections because they hope to gain or to keep the spoils of office in this way. Of late years the evils of the spoils system in our national government have been greatly lessened by requiring office-seekers to take competitive examinations before their appointment, and by keeping officers in their positions as long as they are efficient. This reform of the civil service, as it is called, is still greatly needed in many of our states and cities.

The beginning of national conventions

The spoils system was not the only new political practice introduced during Jackson's administration. A new and more democratic method of nominating candidates for the presidency came into use in 1832. Hitherto the candidates of each party had been named by the members of that party in Congress at a meeting called a Congressional Caucus or by the state legisla-

tures. Now the parties began to hold national conventions to which each state sent delegates. Henceforth the national convention of each party drew up a statement of its principles, called its platform, and nominated its candidates for president and vice-president.

The Tariff and Nullification.—After the War of 1812, as we have already noted, the United States began to protect its



© International Film Service

The Republican National Convention of 1920 in Session at Chicago

infant manufacturing industries against the competition of foreigners by a series of tariff acts, each higher than the preceding one. At that time nearly all the people in the South were farmers and planters, and a protective tariff made them pay more for the tools, clothing, and other manufactured goods which they needed. At first some southern men hoped that the tariff might encourage manufacturing in their section of the country, but they soon found out that slave labor could not be employed profitably in factories. Because of these conditions the southern people felt that the policy of protection was very unfair to them and this feeling soon led them to oppose it bitterly.

The protective tariff opposed in the South

Calhoun, the
leader of the
South

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina became the leader of the South in its fight against a protective tariff policy. Calhoun was a statesman of great ability and high character, and one of the most convincing debaters in our history. He had favored the protective tariff act of 1816 because he was then eager to strengthen the national spirit which had been quickened by the War of 1812. But when he realized that the high tariff laws did not promote manufacturing in his own section, and that they even put a burden upon the planters of his own state, Calhoun opposed them with all his might.

The theory of
nullification

After the "tariff of abominations" was passed in 1828 Calhoun advanced the argument that Congress had been given no right in the Constitution to lay a tax for the benefit of the manufacturers. He said further that the Constitution was made by the states, and that if Congress passed any law not authorized by the Constitution, any state could declare it unconstitutional and prevent its enforcement within the borders of that state. This theory that a state could declare an act of Congress null and void on the ground that it violates the Constitution was called nullification. Much the same view had been expressed thirty years earlier in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions. The doctrine of nullification was very dangerous, for if any state should attempt to carry it out it might lead to civil war or to the breaking up of the Union.

Jackson
defends the
Union

At first there was no attempt to act upon Calhoun's theory, but for the next three or four years nullification was much talked about and the idea became very popular in South Carolina. During this period of debate the Union found two stout defenders against the state rights men in President Jackson and Daniel Webster. In 1830, at a banquet to celebrate Jefferson's birthday several men spoke in approval of nullification. When President Jackson was introduced he gave the toast, "Our Federal Union; it must be preserved." This was a plain warning to the nullifiers what to expect from a president who was well known to be as good as his word.

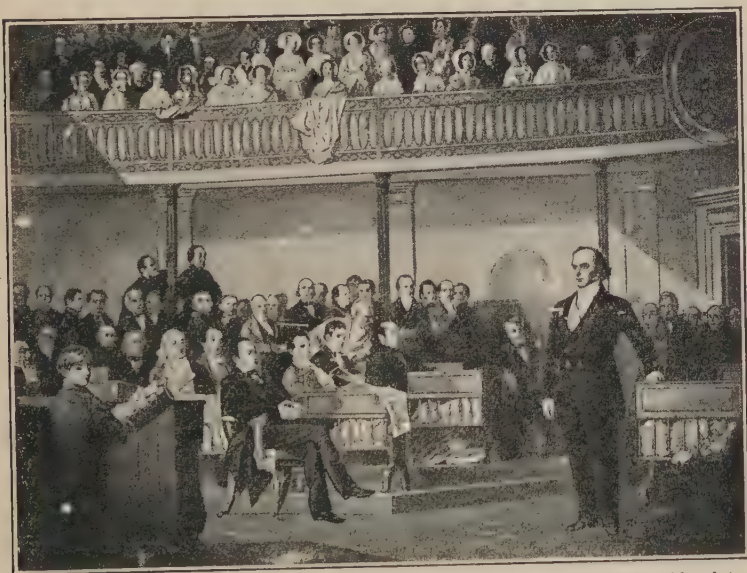
Webster
expounds the
Constitution

The same year Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina eloquently explained and defended the idea of nullification in the Senate. Webster replied to Hayne in one of the greatest speeches in our history. In burning words that had a deep and abiding influence throughout the North he declared that the peo-

ple, not the states, made the Constitution; that it is the supreme law of the land; and that no authority except the Supreme Court of the United States has any right to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional. Webster closed with a thrilling appeal for "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

When Congress passed a new tariff law in 1832 which seemed to make protection the settled policy of the country South Carolina hesitated no longer. A convention in that state

**South
Carolina
nullifies the
tariff laws**



Webster Replying to Hayne

From an old print.

promptly declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 to be "null and void, and no law, nor binding upon this state, its officers or citizens." South Carolina also threatened to withdraw from the Union if any attempt were made to enforce the laws which she had nullified.

President Jackson warned the people of South Carolina that "the laws of the United States must be executed," and said, "If force should be necessary, I will have forty thousand men in South Carolina to put down resistance and enforce the law." When a member of Congress from South Carolina asked

**Jackson's
attitude**

the president if he had any message for the people of that state, Jackson said, "Please say to my friends in your state that if a single drop of blood shall be shed there in opposition to the laws of the United States, I will hang the first man I lay my hands on, engaged in such treasonable conduct, upon the first tree I can reach."

Clay's
compromise

South Carolina prepared to resist the collection of the duties, and the country stood upon the verge of civil war. But before either side had struck a blow Henry Clay came forward as a peacemaker. He proposed a compromise tariff law by which the rates of duty were to be reduced gradually for the next nine years. Congress passed Clay's compromise, South Carolina accepted it, and thus the threatened danger was averted. But this compromise only postponed the inevitable conflict between the state rights men who believed in nullification and those who held with Jackson and Webster that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land.

~~Jackson's Attack upon the Bank of the United States.~~—

Rival banks

At the same time that Jackson was fighting the idea of nullification he was attacking the Bank of the United States. You will recall that Hamilton proposed a national bank, which was chartered in 1791 for twenty years, and that a second national bank was set up in 1816. The second Bank of the United States, like the first, received the cash on hand of the government on deposit and issued bank notes which the people used as paper money. At this time there were a great many other banks whose notes circulated as money. They were called state banks because they were given the right to do a banking business by the states in which they were located. The state banks were jealous of the Bank of the United States because they thought that it was trying to get all the business away from them. Jackson shared in this dislike of the big and powerful national bank. He feared that it would interfere in politics and possibly control the government. He had long heard many people in the West and South call the Bank of the United States a monopoly, and he hated all monopolies.

Jackson
attacks the
Bank of the
United
States

Jackson began to talk against the bank as soon as he became president. He knew that its charter expired in 1836, and he wanted to prevent it from getting another. In 1832 Congress passed a bill renewing the bank's charter. Jackson

vetoed this bill in a message in which he called the Bank of the United States "an unnecessary, useless, expensive, un-American monopoly." This veto made the bank question the leading issue in the election of 1832 which was just coming on. The foes of the bank rallied around Jackson, who was renominated for the presidency by the Democrats. Henry Clay, the most ardent champion of the bank in Congress, was the candidate of its friends who were soon to be called the Whigs. Jackson won by a large majority. There was no longer any hope that the bank could get its charter renewed before it expired in 1836.

President Jackson was not content with his victory over the national bank in the election of 1832. He was a man of the most intense likes and dislikes, and by this time his wrath against the bank was at white heat. He naturally felt that his reelection meant that the people agreed with him. He ordered the secretary of the treasury to stop putting the money of the United States in the national bank and to deposit it in various state banks. This removal of the deposits seriously injured the national bank and gave some of the state banks a great deal more money with which to do business. The Senate thought that the president had no right to remove the government's money from the national bank and censured him for his action. The state banks in which the money of the United States was deposited were called "pet banks" because they enjoyed the special favor of the administration.

The removal
of the
deposits

"Pet banks"

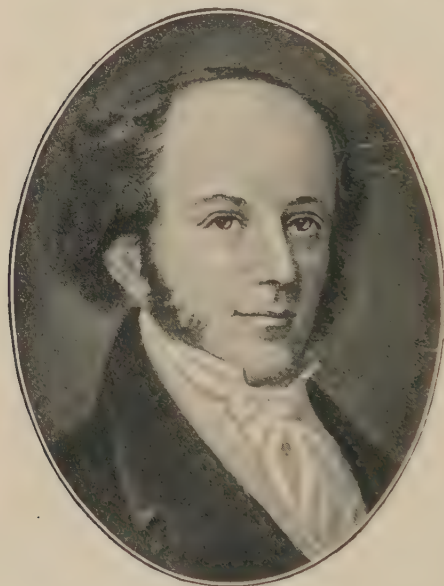
The Panic of 1837.—The country seemed very prosperous during Jackson's second term. Men were digging canals, building railroads and factories, and buying public land in the hope of selling it at higher prices. Much of this new business was done with borrowed money. When the government money was deposited in the "pet banks" they loaned it freely to their customers. It was easier than ever to borrow money, and men were tempted to risk it in new enterprises. Banking seemed to be a very prosperous business, and new state banks, often with very little capital, sprang up all over the West. Because some of these banks were reckless in issuing and lending their notes, which were used as paper money, they were called "wild cat" banks. All these circumstances tended to make men speculate wildly in the hope of getting rich quickly. Many people were heavily in debt. If anything should happen to

A time of
wild specu-
lation

make it necessary for the banks to redeem their notes and the people to pay their debts serious trouble was sure to come.

The causes
of the panic

The trouble came early in 1837, in the form of the most disastrous financial panic that our country has ever known. Unwise banking and wild speculation were the real causes of this panic, but an action of Jackson's during the last year of his administration helped to bring it on. The United States was selling enormous quantities of the public land at this time.



Martin Van Buren

The income of the government from this source alone jumped from five million dollars in 1834 to nearly twenty-five millions in 1836. Much of this land was paid for with the notes of "wildcat" banks. Jackson began to fear that these banks might not be able to redeem their notes, so in 1836 he issued an order called the specie circular which directed that the public lands must be paid for in gold and silver. When the people realized that the government was losing faith in the bank

notes they lost confidence too, and floods of these notes began to pour into the banks to be exchanged for gold and silver. Many of the state banks were unable to redeem their notes in coin and were forced to close their doors. Under these circumstances men who could not pay their debts were soon driven into bankruptcy, and presently the business of the country was almost paralyzed.

Martin Van
Buren

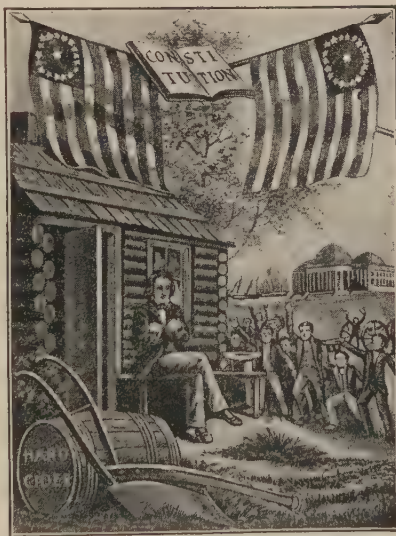
The causes of the panic of 1837 developed while Jackson was president, but as the crash did not come until after he left

the White House, Van Buren, his successor, had to bear most of the blame. Martin Van Buren was a shrewd New York politician, whose enemies often called him the "Little Magician" because of his cunning political tricks. He was a great favorite with Jackson who forced the Democrats to make him their candidate for the presidency in 1836. The Whigs made no regular nomination for that election but divided their votes among General Harrison, Webster, and two other candidates. Van Buren was easily elected and he announced that he would continue the policies of President Jackson.

The effects of the panic of 1837, which came at the beginning of Van Buren's term of office, were severe and long continued. Many bankers and merchants failed, mines and factories were shut down, and thousands of men were thrown out of work. For some years many of our people found it difficult to make a living. The people blamed the government for what was largely the result of their own extravagance and reckless speculation.

The hard times continued until the people, by their economy, industry, and thrift gradually overcame the evil effects of the panic. The Whigs wanted to reestablish a national bank, but Van Buren successfully opposed them and in 1840 persuaded Congress to set up an independent treasury system under which the government keeps its cash on hand in its own vaults.

A prolonged period of hard times in our country is very apt to be blamed upon the political party in power at the time. This was especially true during Van Buren's administration, and the effect of it was seen in the election of 1840. In that



The effects of the panic

Cartoon of the Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign

The "log cabin, hard cider" campaign of 1840

year the Democrats renominated Van Buren, and the Whigs, passing over their great leader, Henry Clay, named General William Henry Harrison, the old Indian fighter at Tippecanoe and hero of the War of 1812 for president, and John Tyler of Virginia for vice-president. The Democrats said that Harrison was an ignorant old frontiersman who would be more at home in a log cabin drinking hard cider than he would in the White House. The Whigs at once took advantage of this slur upon their candidate. At their meetings log cabins were built, much hard cider was drunk, and campaign songs in honor of "Old Tip" were sung. The Whig enthusiasm swept everything before it, and Harrison was chosen by a large majority of the electoral vote. On March 4, 1841, the Jacksonian period of our history came to an end, and the Whigs for the first time took charge of our national affairs.

Government
by the people
gains ground
in Europe

The Rising Tide of Democracy.—The right of the people to govern themselves was rapidly gaining ground in both Europe and America when Jackson was president. In 1829 the Greeks won their independence from the Turks who had oppressed them for centuries. In 1830 the French overthrew the old Bourbon line of kings, which had been restored in their country when Napoleon fell, and set up a more liberal monarch. In 1832 a great reform bill was passed in England, which gave the right to vote to many men who had not before possessed it and made the English parliament much more truly representative of the English people than it had been in the days of the Revolution. Democracy was in the air everywhere.

Signs of
growing
democracy
at home

The rising tide of democracy in our own country first swept away the numerous restrictions which had formerly kept many men from having any voice in the government. When Jefferson became president in 1801 some of the states still retained religious tests for office-holding, and in many of them a man could not vote unless he possessed a certain amount of property. One by one as the country grew more democratic in feeling the states abolished these restrictions. By 1840 all religious qualifications were gone and in all but a few of the states every white man who was twenty-one years old could vote.

While the right to vote was being extended changes were being made in the governments of the states in order to make them more responsive to the will of the people. In our early

history only a few officers were elected by popular vote. The judges, most of the state officers, and many county and city officials were appointed by the governor or chosen by the legislature. The growing democratic feeling in the country during the first half of the nineteenth century caused many of the states to make new state constitutions, or amend their old ones, in order to provide for the election of nearly all these officers by a direct vote of the people as they are chosen at the present time.

Popular changes in state government

As the state governments thus became more democratic they began to change the laws in the interest of humanity and justice. The old cruel punishments such as standing in the pillory or sitting in the stocks were abolished, the whipping post disappeared in nearly all the states, and imprisonment for debt was stopped. Sanitary prisons were built to take the place of the filthy dungeons in which criminals were kept in the eighteenth century. More thought was given to the care of the poor and the afflicted. Well-kept poorhouses, schools for the deaf and dumb and for the blind, and public asylums for the insane began to appear. Laws were passed to divide inheritances equally among all the children instead of giving the eldest son a special share as had been done formerly. A few of the states began to fix the hours of labor by law. These democratic changes came more rapidly in the new states of the West than in the older and more conservative East. X

The states pass just and humane laws

A Period of Progress.—While our country was thus deeply moved by new democratic impulses during the times of Andrew Jackson it was developing rapidly along many other lines. Our population was ten millions in 1820, nearly thirteen millions in 1830, and seventeen millions in 1840. The bulk of our people still lived in the country but the young manufacturing cities were growing very fast. Settlers were pouring into the new states in the West by hundreds of thousands. The toil of our farmers was rewarded with bountiful crops. An enormous inland commerce was springing up between the different sections of the country. The last dollar of the national debt was paid off in 1835, and during the last two years of Jackson's administration the country was out of debt for the only time in its history.

A time of rapid growth

Meanwhile the Indians were driven steadily westward by the oncoming wave of settlement. In 1832 the frontiersmen

**Our dealings
with the
Indians**

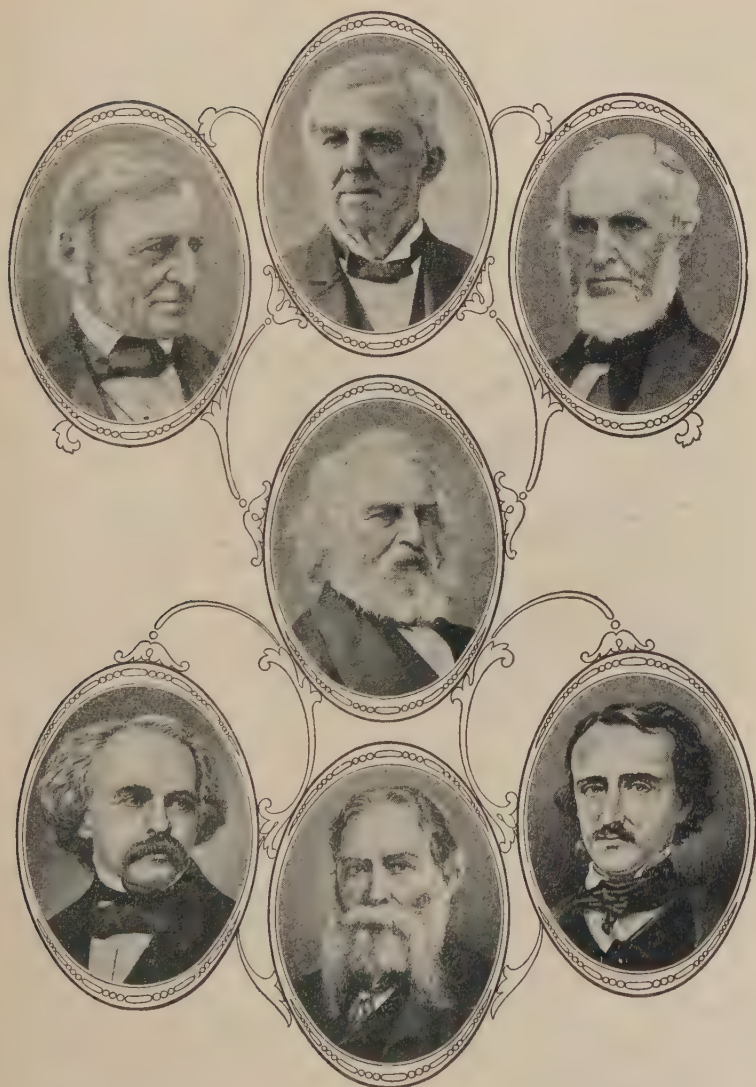
seized the land of the Indians in northern Illinois. Naturally the Indians resented this action, which resulted in a struggle called the Black Hawk war after the chief who led the red men. The Indians were beaten, and northern Illinois, southern Wisconsin, and eastern Iowa were opened to settlement. In 1834 Congress established an Indian territory in the valley of the Arkansas River and forced the Creeks, Choctaws, and the other tribes which occupied the fertile cotton lands of Georgia and Mississippi to remove to it. Some of the Seminoles in Florida refused to leave their old home and waged a bloody war against the whites from 1835 until 1842. At last the remnant of the tribe yielded and were settled in Indian Territory. No doubt great injustice was often done the red men, but it was hopeless for them to try to stay the irresistible westward march of the pioneers.

**Progress in
education**

But progress during the Jacksonian period was not confined to growth in population and industry or to the conquest of new lands. As the people came to appreciate the meaning of democracy they began to claim free public education as their right. Free public school systems were established in the middle and western states. This action was easier in the West than in the other sections of the country, because Congress had given the western states one section of land in each township for the support of common schools. Not much was yet done for public education in the South, but the New England states had provided free schools for boys ever since the colonial period. Early in the nineteenth century girls began to be admitted to these schools. Under the inspiring leadership of Horace Mann, Massachusetts led the other states in lengthening the school term, in spending more money for education, and in establishing normal schools for the training of teachers. In the meantime many new colleges and universities were founded. At first none of the American colleges admitted women, but in 1833 Oberlin College opened the door of higher education to them by admitting them on the same terms as men. In 1836 Mary Lyon founded Mount Holyoke, the first of the great women's colleges of our country.

**New names
in literature**

Meanwhile more rapid means of transportation, a better postal service, and lower rates of postage gave the newspapers a wider circulation and a wider influence upon public opinion,



Emerson
Hawthorne

Holmes
Longfellow
Lowell

Whittier
Poe

Famous prose writers and poets of the Nineteenth Century.

Better papers and magazines were published and a new group of great American writers appeared. Irving, Bryant, and Cooper began their work at an earlier period, but in Jackson's time we first hear of those brilliant poets, Poe, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell, and of our greatest prose writers, Emerson and Hawthorne.

**Religious
development**

Nor was this age of activity and progress lacking on the religious side. The spirit of toleration was growing in the land. Sunday-schools for the religious training of children were organized in nearly all the Protestant churches. The missionary spirit was more fervent than ever before in our country. The



© Brown Bros., N. Y.

The Mormon Temple and Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, Utah

**Origin of
the
Mormons**

Catholic Church had always been zealous in missionary work, and now the various Protestant denominations began to take an active part in carrying the gospel to the frontier and to foreign lands.

In this time of religious activity there arose a new sect, the Church of Jesus Christ of Lat-

ter Day Saints, commonly called the Mormons. This church was founded by Joseph Smith who published the Book of Mormon on which its faith is based. With his followers, Smith settled in Illinois where they built the city of Nauvoo. Here they were persecuted and their leader was slain by a mob. Then the Mormons resolved to go into the western wilderness in search of a place where they could dwell in peace and worship God in their own way. Under the guidance of a new leader, Brigham Young, they at last made their way to Utah where they founded Salt Lake City.

Our country enjoyed great material prosperity and was filled with new ideas and with new social activities when Jackson was president. In that time of growing democracy the aristo-

cratic institution of slavery stood out in bold relief and challenged attention. Negro slavery and the rise of the movement against it are so important and have had such a profound influence upon our history that they must have a chapter to themselves.

Slavery
demands
attention

REFERENCES.

MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*; Peck, *The Jacksonian Epoch*; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*; Burgess, *The Middle Period*; Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*; Histories of the United States by Bassett, Fite, Wilson, Schouler, and McMaster.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Favorite Sons. Muzzey, *American History*, 251-258.
2. The Election of 1824. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V, 55-81.
3. Jackson's Early Public Life. MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 16-27.
4. The Inauguration of Jackson. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V, 519-525.
5. The United States in 1831. Schouler, *History of the United States*, IV, 1-31.
6. Andrew Jackson, the Man. Brady, *The True Andrew Jackson*, 133-155.
7. A Character Sketch of Jackson. MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 306-315, or Schouler, *History of the United States*, IV, 265-273.
8. The Introduction of the Spoils System. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V, 525-536.
9. The Experience of an Office Holder in Jackson's Time. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 531-535.
10. Calhoun on the Right of Nullification. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 544-548.
11. Daniel Webster, the Defender of the Constitution. Sparks, *The Men Who Made the Nation*, 318-346.
12. The Panic of 1837. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 296-308.
13. The Origin of the Mormons. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VI, 102-107.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Stories: Lucy Larcom, *A New England Girlhood*; Tourgee, *Button's Inn*; Hawthorne, *Blithedale Romance*.

Biographies: Brady, *The True Andrew Jackson*; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*; Schurz, *Henry Clay*; Lodge, *Daniel Webster*; Von Holst, *John C. Calhoun*; Shepard, *Martin Van Buren*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. If there had been such a bargain between Adams and Clay as Jackson charged, would it have been wrong? Why? Did you ever hear of a bargain like it in the political life of our time?
2. How did the Democrats of Jackson's time differ from the Jeffersonian Republicans? Would you have been a Whig or a Democrat in Jackson's time? Why?
3. Does the spoils system prevail in the government of your state, county, and city? If so, is anything being done to replace it with a merit system? What is meant by a merit system?
4. Calhoun favored a protective tariff in 1816. Why did he oppose it in 1832? Webster opposed protection in 1824 and favored it in 1832. Why did he change his mind?
5. If Congress passes an act contrary to the Constitution, what is the rightful remedy? Which side really gained more by the compromise tariff of 1833?
6. Was Jackson right or wrong in his attitude toward the Bank of the United States? Who was to blame for the panic of 1837?
7. What evidence can you find in Jackson's time that the country was really growing more democratic?
8. Why was it hopeless for the Indians to try to stop the westward march of the pioneers?
9. Look up the history of the public school system of your own state
10. Associate all the events you can with 1832. With 1837.

CHAPTER XVII

SLAVERY AND ANTISLAVERY

The Early History of Slavery in Our Country.—Slavery began in the English colonies in 1619, when a Dutch trader brought twenty negroes to Jamestown. For a long time the number of slaves increased very slowly, and it was not until the eighteenth century that the African slave trade became an extensive business. At the close of Queen Anne's War in 1713 Great Britain was given a monopoly of the business of carrying slaves from Africa to the New World. Soon British and colonial ship-owners were making large profits out of the infamous business of buying or stealing negroes in Africa and selling them in America. Slaves were brought to all the English colonies though they were far more numerous in the South than in the North. Few men in the colonial period seem to have thought that slavery was wrong. The Quakers were almost alone in protesting against it.

**Slavery in
the colonies**

Slavery was recognized and even protected by the Constitution. This great law, by which the people created our government, said that three-fifths of the slaves should be added to the whole number of free persons in apportioning representatives among the states according to their population; it provided that runaway slaves should be returned to their masters; and it forbade Congress to stop the foreign slave trade before 1808. Yet the men who made the Constitution seemed to feel that slavery was wrong, for they carefully avoided the word slaves and called them "all other persons" or "persons held to service or labor." That the North and the South were already beginning to feel differently about slavery is shown by the fact that two of the references to it in the Constitution were the result of compromises between those sections.

**Slavery
recognized
in the Con-
stitution**

Indeed, when our Revolutionary fathers declared that all men are created equal and endowed with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they could not well help seeing how inconsistent these ideas were with their conduct in holding black men in bondage. During the generation follow-

**Slavery
abolished in
the North**

ing the Revolution all the states north of Mason and Dixon's line either abolished slavery or provided for gradually freeing the slaves within their borders. This action was not difficult in the North where slavery did not pay and where the number of slaves was small. But it was a much more serious matter in the South, where nearly all industry was carried on with slave



By permission of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

A Southern Planter's Home
With Colonial verandah or gallery.

labor. Some southern men like Jefferson hated slavery and voted to exclude it from the Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787. But they did not see how they could live among the mass of uncontrolled negroes in their own communities if the slaves were set free, and in the

end most of them gave up the hope of getting rid of slavery in the southern states.

After the invention of the cotton-gin slavery became more profitable than ever in the far South. When the new cotton lands in the Southwest were opened the demand for slave labor was very great. But Congress had prohibited the foreign slave trade in 1808, and no more negroes could lawfully be brought from Africa. Traders now began to pay good prices for the surplus slaves in the border states of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, and to sell them at a profit to the cotton planters farther south. In this way the cotton-gin tended to fasten slavery upon the slaveholding states that did not grow cotton as well as upon those that did. The people of the South began to defend slavery and to resent any suggestion that it was wrong and ought to be abolished.

The Missouri Compromise.—The first serious clash between the North and the South came over a question that was destined to be a bone of contention between these two sections for the next forty years. Should slavery be permitted to expand in the West? Very early in the history of the nation the Ohio

The cotton-gin helped to fasten slavery on the South

The sections clash over slavery

River had been made the boundary between free and slave territory. Slavery had been prohibited in the Northwest Territory in 1787, but it was permitted south of the Ohio, and by 1819 all the country between that river and the Gulf of Mexico had been made into slave states. We have seen already how new states were admitted into the Union in such a way that the slave states equaled the free states in number, thus keeping up a balance of power between the sections in the Senate.

In 1819 the territory of Missouri asked to be made a state. While the House of Representatives was considering a bill for its admission into the Union a northern member moved that no more slaves should be taken into Missouri and that all children born in the state after its admission should be free upon reaching the age of twenty-five years. In time this would have made Missouri a free state. This motion made the southern members very angry and led to a hot debate. In the end the house adopted the proposition to exclude slavery from Missouri but the Senate rejected it. Thus ended the matter for that session of Congress.

**Freedom and
slavery con-
tend for
Missouri**

The whole country was very much stirred up over the question of slavery in Missouri. Everywhere in the North the people condemned the extension of slavery into the western territory. In the South the slave-owners declared that the Constitution gave them the right to settle in any territory of the United States with their slaves. In 1820 the house again voted to prohibit slavery in Missouri. It happened that just at this time Maine was asking to be made a state. A compromise was proposed in the Senate providing that Maine should be admitted as a free state and Missouri as a slave state, but that slavery should be prohibited forever in all the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude. At last both houses agreed to this compromise and it became a law.

**The
Missouri
Compromise**

The Missouri Compromise is one of the most important events in our history. The discussion of it awakened the North and the South to a consciousness of the growing difference between them and began the long struggle between freedom and slavery which in the end almost destroyed the Union. No one saw the threatening danger more clearly or stated it more

**Importance
of this
measure**

forcibly than the aged ex-president Thomas Jefferson. "This momentous question," he wrote, "like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper." This continued to be done until slavery,



Free and Slave Territory after the Missouri Compromise

the real cause of the irritation between the North and the South, was swept away in the fires of a great civil war.

Life in the Slaveholding States.—A study of life in the South will help us to understand how slavery was steadily making that section more and more unlike the rest of the country. We must realize what slavery was like in order to appreciate why so many people in the North wanted to keep it out of the western territory and why the abolitionists hated it and were eager to destroy it. We must not think that all the people of the South were slaveholders. In all that section there were only about eight thousand large planters owning

The great
slaveholders

more than fifty slaves apiece. Most of these men lived in the fertile river valleys on the Atlantic Coast or on the rich cotton or sugar lands of the Gulf states. This small group of wealthy planters possessed homes of luxury and were educated gentlemen with great influence in their states. They were the real rulers of the South.

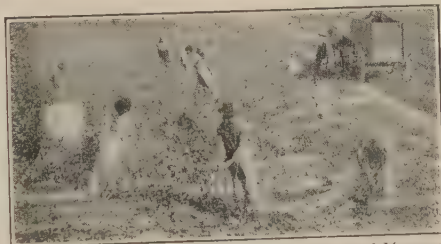
Next to the great planters were about three hundred thousand small slave-owners. More than half of them owned less than five slaves each. A majority of these small slave-owners were men of little education who lived in homes lacking most of the ordinary comforts of life and worked hard looking after their farms. They were most numerous in the upland region between the coast plains and the mountains.

The small
slave-
owners

† About three-fourths of all the white men in the South owned no slaves at all. Most of these non-slaveholders were small farmers who lived in little cabins in the hill country or in the valleys of the mountains. Some of them, especially those who lived in the pine forests near the coast, were shiftless and degraded, and deserved the name of "poor white trash" which was often given them. But the vast majority of the poor whites of the South were brave and hard-working men. They were poor because the competition of slave labor did not give them a fair chance, and ignorant because their section of the country lacked good public schools.

A few of the more attractive and intelligent negroes were employed as house servants or as mechanics. The great mass of the slaves, however, were field hands upon the farms and plantations. These field hands were slow, awkward, and unskilled workers. They could use only plows and heavy hoes in cultivating cotton, tobacco, and sugar-cane. They lacked the intelligence to work with machinery, and any effort to educate and train them would have unfitted them for slavery.

Most
southern
white men
owned no
slaves



By permission of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum
A Cotton Field

Field hands at work on a large plantation in the Southern Cotton Belt.

House
servants
and field
hands

**Masters
and slaves**

The treatment which the slaves received varied with the character of their masters and the part of the country in which they lived. Some masters were kind and just men who looked thoughtfully after the welfare of their slaves; a few were careless or even brutal in their attitude toward them. But most men were as careful about the physical welfare of their slaves as sensible farmers now are of their domestic animals, because that was the way to make them most profitable. The lot of the slaves was very much happier in Virginia and Kentucky,



Reproduced by permission of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum
Weighing Seed Cotton

where the master and mistress gave them their personal attention, than it was on the great cotton plantations of the far South, where they were often driven to work in large gangs by overseers.

The slaves on the large plantations lived in little houses grouped near together and called the "quarters." Many of the slave quarters were comfortable log cabins, others were filthy hovels unfit to shelter cattle. The clothing of the slave consisted of a shirt and trousers, or a dress of the coarsest material, and a pair of heavy shoes. Slaves were fed at the smallest possible expense, mainly upon corn meal and pork. The weekly allowance of food upon one Virginia plantation was a peck and

**Shelter
and food**

a half of corn meal, three pounds of bacon, and a little salt. A Mississippi planter gave his slaves one peck of meal, three pounds of pork, and a quart of molasses each week.

The life of the house servants was often easy and there were seasons of the year when the negroes on the farms of the border slave states did not have to toil very hard, but the slaves on the cotton plantations were driven for long hours every day. A traveler in the South, who inquired about the hours of labor of the slaves, was told by one overseer that he

The work of
slaves



Reproduced by permission of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum
Bales of Cotton on a Wharf at New Orleans

never started his negroes to work before daylight, except in cotton picking time, when he expected them to get out a quarter of an hour earlier, but that he required them to keep steadily at work through the day. A slave could not be expected to work so hard unless he were driven to do so by the hope of reward or the fear of punishment. Some masters gave each slave a certain amount of work to do each day and permitted him to stop working when he had finished the daily task. But in most cases the slave worked from the fear of punishment. On many of the large plantations white overseers or negro slave-drivers armed with whips were sent to the fields with the gangs of

slaves to keep them steadily at work. Whipping was the common punishment for laziness or misconduct.

Buying and
selling slaves

A slave belonged by law to his master, like a horse or a dog. He could be bought or sold like any other property. One of the worst features of slavery was the fact that it made it impossible for the negro to have a real family life. The father, the mother, or the children might be sold and taken away at any time. Humane masters avoided, as far as possible, such breaking up of slave families, but this was not uncommon. Sometimes the death of a master made it necessary to sell his slaves in order to settle his estate. Southern newspapers frequently advertised slaves for sale. Dealers in slaves rode about the country, as buyers of cattle did in the northern states, and bought negroes wherever they could find them for sale. When a sufficient number of slaves was accumulated in this way they were taken to those parts of the country where slaves were most in demand and sold at auction. The best young men were often sold for twelve hundred dollars each, and young women brought from eight hundred to a thousand apiece.

Slavery was
an evil to
both races

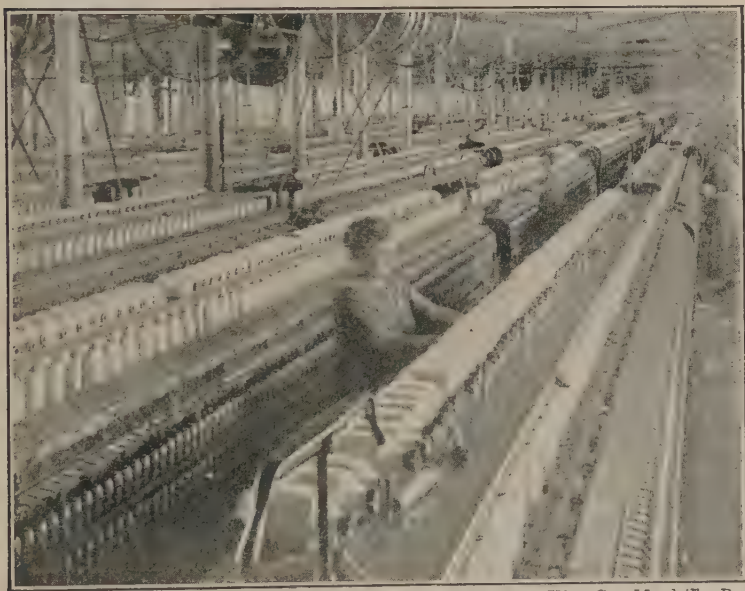
The life of the slave was a mere animal existence. It was not commonly filled with cruelty or actual distress, but it was marked by fear and uncertainty. The slaves were treated as if they were not human beings. The laws of most of the slave states made it a crime to teach a slave to read or write. Idle and neglected, while children and when very old, the slaves spent all the active years of their lives in unpaid toil without hope of anything better in future.

Slavery was almost as great a curse to the white people of the South as it was to the negroes. It made the masters proud, passionate, and overbearing. White children who grew up among slaves quickly learned to imitate these traits of the masters. Ignorant, unskilled, and unwilling slave labor retarded the industrial development of the slaveholding states, in which they were very backward when compared with the free states. Later we shall see that after the South got rid of slavery its industries grew as they never could have grown with slave labor.

We have seen how some of the early leaders of the South wanted to rid their states of slavery, but could not find any

practicable way of abolishing it. After the invention of the cotton-gin made slavery more profitable in the South the slave-owners began to make excuses for it and ended by attempting to justify it. It was proclaimed from the pulpit that slavery is a divinely ordained institution sanctioned by the Bible. The newspapers and the politicians declared that the negroes

The defense
of slavery



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

A Modern Textile Mill,
Spinning yarn and winding it on thousands of bobbins

were utterly unfit to be freemen and that they were happy and contented as slaves. A governor of South Carolina, after declaring that the slaves were comfortably clothed and well fed, and that they worked fewer hours than the workmen of other countries, said: "And as it regards concern for the future, their condition may well be envied even by their masters. There is not upon the face of the earth, any class of people, high or low, so perfectly free from care and anxiety. They know that their masters will provide for them under all circumstances, and that in the extremity of old age, instead of being driven to

beggary or to seek public charity in a poorhouse, they will be comfortably accommodated and kindly treated among their relatives and associates."

Early
opposition
to slavery

The Rise of the Antislavery Movement.—The Revolution was followed by a rising hostility to slavery. We have seen how this feeling brought about the abolition of it in the North. This dislike of slavery was shared in many parts of the South, and a few slave-owners in that section freed their slaves and tried to persuade others to do likewise. In 1816 the American Colonization Society was formed to send the freed negroes back to Africa, and six years later the colony of Liberia was established for them. About the same time Benjamin Lundy, a gentle and unselfish Quaker, devoted his life to the cause of the slave. Lundy traveled widely making antislavery speeches, organized antislavery societies, and published an abolition newspaper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. His work met with slight response. For ten years after the passage of the Missouri Compromise there was little agitation against slavery. When Jackson became president in 1829 the antislavery cause seemed hopeless. Slavery was steadily increasing its hold on the South, the leaders of that section were beginning to defend it, and abolitionists like Lundy were in despair over the fact that the northern people appeared to have lost all interest in the matter.

New interest
in abolition
about 1830

But about 1830 the movement against slavery suddenly blazed up more fiercely than ever. Just at that time the thoughts of freedom and of humanity seemed to be in the air all over the world. Slavery had recently been abolished in all the Latin-American countries excepting Brazil. In 1833 the slaves were emancipated everywhere in the British Empire. In our own country, as we have already noted, a kindlier spirit toward the weak and the helpless was leading to better treatment of convicts, paupers, and the insane. The renewed interest in abolition found a leader in 1831, when William Lloyd Garrison began to publish the *Liberator*, the most famous and influential antislavery paper. Two years later Garrison and other abolitionists formed the American Antislavery Society.

The founders of this society maintained that no man has a right to enslave another, to hold him as a piece of merchandise,

or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of improving it. They declared that every man has a right to his own body, to the products of his own labor, and to the protection of the law. They proclaimed that the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and pledged themselves to work with voice and pen for this end. They planned to organize antislavery societies in every community.

The American Antislavery Society

The agitation to which the abolitionists pledged themselves was carried on with zeal and devotion, but it was so extreme and radical that it did not win many converts. It did, however, make the people think about slavery. Its first effect was to arouse the wrath of the South. A Virginia slave named Nat Turner had recently led a slave uprising in which sixty white people were killed before Turner was caught and hanged. It was natural that the people of the South should look with horror upon abolition teaching which might stir up more slave insurrections. They demanded that the abolitionists be silenced by force.

The effects of anti-slavery agitation

At first many northern people sympathized with this demand of the South. The politicians who wanted to curry favor with the South, the merchants and manufacturers who feared to lose their southern customers, the timid and conservative people who thought that the agitation of the slavery question might break up the Union, and the unthinking rabble who hated the negro were all bitter against the abolitionists. Mobs broke up their meetings, destroyed their printing-presses, and attacked their leaders. Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston, and finally put in jail to save him from the fury of the mob. Pennsylvania Hall, the meeting place of the abolitionists in Philadelphia, was burned. Instead of silencing the abolitionists, all this persecution only deepened their hatred of slavery and hardened their purpose to destroy it.

Northern hostility to the abolitionists

Some of the abolitionists wished to form a new political party to oppose slavery. Others like Garrison refused to have anything to do with politics, took for their motto: "No union with slaveholders," and harshly criticized the Constitution of the United States because, as they declared, it recognized slavery. In 1840 the political abolitionists formed the Liberty party and nominated James G. Birney for the presidency. Birney received only seven thousand votes, but

The Liberty party

the rapid growth of the Liberty party is indicated by the fact that when he ran again in 1844 more than sixty-two thousand antislavery men voted for him.

Three Great Abolition Leaders.—William Lloyd Garrison was the foremost editor of the antislavery cause. When he

Garrison
and the
Liberator



William Lloyd Garrison

Abolitionist leader and publisher of the "Liberator"

began to publish the *Liberator* in Boston he was an unknown young printer without money or influence. Lowell gives us this picture of him at work:

"In a small chamber,
friendless and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types
one poor, unlearned
young man
The place was dark, unfurnished, and mean,
Yet there the freedom
of a race began."

Garrison was a remarkable writer, and he hated slavery with all the force of his ardent nature. In the first number of the *Liberator* he said, "I

am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD!" Garrison was true to this promise, and although few agreed with his radical opinions, he wielded a profound influence because he forced people to think about the evils of slavery. But with all his zeal for freedom, Garrison was a one-sided and prejudiced man who denounced slavery and the slaveholders in the same scathing terms. He was unable to understand that while slavery was wrong many slaveholders were good men.

John G. Whittier was the poet of the abolition movement who most closely touched the hearts of the people. His many antislavery poems were widely read, and they exerted a deep influence in arousing public sentiment against slavery. Whittier voices the feeling of the enemies of slavery about one of the worst features of slave life in the following lament of a Virginia slave mother whose daughters have been sold to a South Carolina planter:

The poet of
abolition

"Gone, gone,—sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone.
Where the slave-whip ceaseless swings,
Where the noisome insect stings,
Where the fever demon strews
Poison with the falling dews,
Where the sickly sunbeams glare
Through the hot and misty air;
Gone, gone,—sold and gone,
To the rice-swamps dank and lone,
From Virginia's hills and waters,—
Woe is me, my stolen daughters!"

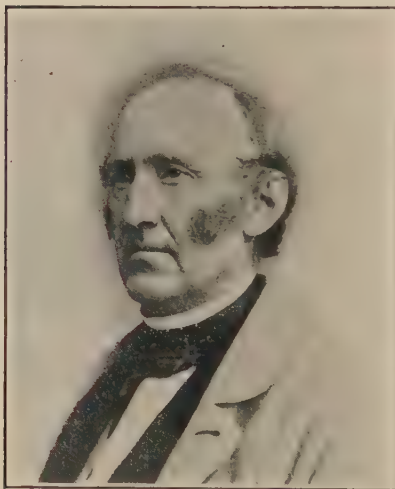
The cause of abolition found its greatest orator in Wendell Phillips. In 1837 Elijah P. Lovejoy, the editor of an antislavery paper at Alton, Illinois, was killed by a mob that sought to destroy his printing-press. At a meeting of the citizens of Boston in Faneuil Hall, held to express their horror at this murder, the attorney-general of Massachusetts condemned Lovejoy and excused his murderers. Wendell Phillips, a young and unknown lawyer, at once ascended the platform and answered the defender of mob violence in one of the most brilliant speeches in our history. From that hour until slavery was abolished, Wendell Phillips was its most eloquent foe. Two sentences from his first great speech in Faneuil Hall will help you to feel his power as an orator. Early in the speech he said, "When I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips [pointing to the portraits in the hall] would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American—the slanderer of the dead." A moment later Phillips declared that Lovejoy died for a greater

The fore-
most anti-
slavery
orator

cause than that of the Revolutionary fathers. When the audience resented this statement he retorted: "One word, gentlemen. As much as *thought* is better than money, so much is the cause in which Lovejoy died nobler than a mere question of taxes. James Otis thundered in this hall when

the king did but touch his *pocket*. Imagine, if you can, his indignant eloquence had England offered to put a gag upon his *lips*!"

The Slavery Question in Congress.—The action of the abolitionists in sending their literature through the mail to people in the South was very displeasing to that section. One night in 1835 some of the citizens of Charleston, South Carolina, broke into the post office in that city, searched the mails, and seized and burned all the antislavery papers which they found. The postmaster-general was next asked to exclude



From F. Gutekunst Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

Wendell Phillips

The greatest orator for the cause of abolition.

abolition matter from the mail. He replied that, while he wished it might be done, he had no legal right to do it. Nevertheless, the postmaster in New York refused to forward antislavery publications, and some southern postmasters would not deliver them. In his annual message of 1835, President Jackson asked Congress to prohibit the circulation in the southern states of papers "intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection," but when John C. Calhoun brought forward a bill to carry the president's suggestion into effect it was defeated.

The pro-slavery men were more successful in an attempt to exclude petitions concerning slavery from the House of Representatives. For years the Quakers had been in the habit of petitioning Congress to abolish slavery in the District of

Abolition
papers in
the mail

The "gag
rule"

Columbia. As the agitation against slavery grew, the number of the signers of such petitions increased from thirty-four thousand in 1835 to three hundred thousand two years later. The impatient southerners determined to stop this flood of petitions. Through their efforts the House of Representatives made a rule in 1836 forbidding the reading or printing of any petition or paper about slavery. This rule is often called the "gag rule," because its purpose was to stop the discussion of slavery in the house.

After he retired from the presidency John Quincy Adams rounded out his distinguished public career by serving for seventeen years in the House of Representatives. When the vote was taken on the "gag rule" Adams said, "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, of the rules of this house, and of the rights of my constituents." From the moment the "gag" policy was adopted, the "old man eloquent," as Adams was called, became the champion of the right of petition. Able, experienced, and a born fighter, no man was better fitted for the task than the venerable ex-president. He declared that the "gag rule" sacrificed the rights of the people guaranteed by the Constitution, and persisted in offering petitions against slavery in the face of efforts to censure him for violating the rules of the house. At last, after a fight which lasted eight years, he succeeded in having the hateful rule repealed. That night the old Puritan wrote in his diary, "Blessed, forever blessed, be the name of God!"

The
"old man
eloquent"

The efforts of the friends of slavery to suppress the right of petition and to prevent any discussion of the slavery question in Congress utterly failed in their purpose. In fact, they won more men to the cause of antislavery than all the appeals of the abolitionists. Many people who had little sympathy for the extreme views of Garrison resented the effort to limit discussion in Congress.

The result of
trying to
restrain free
speech

Slavery Becomes the Question of the Hour.—Before Jackson retired from the presidency, slavery was rapidly becoming the most important question before the American people. The abolition leaders were slowly winning followers. An ever-increasing number of people in the free states who were not abolitionists were alarmed and disgusted at the

Growing
bitterness
between the
sections

efforts of the pro-slavery forces to suppress freedom of speech and of the press. In the South, hatred of the abolitionists and fear that the slaves might rise against their masters made the people more irritable and more assertive of their rights. Calhoun called the petitions of the Quakers against slavery "a foul slander" on his part of the country, and another spokesman of the South declared that "slavery is interwoven with our very political existence." The southern states passed more severe laws to keep the slaves in subjection, and the young men of the South banded together to enforce these laws and to defend their section and its institutions against any possible aggression.

The national spirit in conflict with state rights

When the Constitution was first made, the feeling of nationality was weak in our country. Men loved their states better than they loved the nation. For fifty years this feeling had been slowly changing. The influence of Washington, pride in the splendid achievements of our gallant navy in the War of 1812, the winning of the West, improved means of communication, the national spirit of Jackson, and the matchless eloquence of Webster were all leading our people to exalt the Union above the states. They were coming to feel that they were all Americans with common interests and a splendid destiny. For a time all sections shared in this growing feeling of national unity. But when slavery began to divide the country, the people of the South felt that they must look to their own states to defend them against attacks upon their peculiar institution. This feeling checked the growth of nationality in their part of the country and revived and strengthened the belief in state rights.

An all-important question

In the meantime, as we shall see in the next chapter, the ambitious and land-hungry frontiersmen were pushing their way across the continent to the Pacific Coast. The southern leaders saw that they must create new slave states in the West if they were to keep their power in the national government. Their attempts, between 1840 and 1850, to extend slavery into the West and the efforts of the free North to thwart them, made slavery the all-absorbing question before the country. By 1850 Senator Seward of New York could say with truth, "Every question brings up slavery as an incident, and the incident supplants the principal question. We hear of nothing but slavery, and we can talk of nothing but slavery."

REFERENCES.

Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*; Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. I, Chap. IV; Ingle, *Southern Side Lights*; Brown, *The Lower South in American History*; Histories of the United States by McMaster, Schouler, and Wilson.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. How the North Abolished Slavery. Fiske, *The Critical Period*, 71-76.
2. The Missouri Compromise. Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, 149-171.
3. Plantation Life. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 92-108.
4. Life with a Slave Breaker. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 579-583.
5. A Southern Defense of Slavery. Hart, *Source Book of American History*, 244-248.
6. A Cheerful View of Slavery. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 591-594.
7. The Buying and Selling of Slaves. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 318-325.
8. A Scene at a Slave Auction. Wise, *The End of an Era*, 80-87.
9. A Slave's Narrative. Hart, *Source Book of American History*, 255-257.
10. A Statement of Garrison's Principles. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 595-597.
11. Garrison and the Mob. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison*, II, 16-27.
12. Phillips' Faneuil Hall Speech. Johnston, *American Orations*, II, 33-45.
13. An Antislavery Speech in Congress. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 622-625.
14. John Quincy Adams in Defense of Free Speech. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 633-636.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Lowell, *Stanzas on Freedom*; Longfellow, *The Slave's Dream*; *The Slave in the Dismal Swamp*; *The Witnesses*; Whittier, *The Farewell*; *The Christian Slave*; *Massachusetts to Virginia*; and many other anti-slavery poems.

Novels: Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; Hildreth, *The Slave*; Tiernan, *Suzette*; Homoselle; Woolson, *East Angels*; Belt, *Mirage of Promise*; Chesnutt, *The Conjure Woman*.

Travels and Journals: Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States; A Journey through Texas; A Journey in the Back Country*; Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation*; Smedes, *Memoirs of a Southern Planter*; Longstreet, *Georgia Scenes*; Johnston, *Old Times in Middle Georgia*; Page, *The Old South*.

Biographies: Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison*; Kennedy, *John Greenleaf Whittier*; Higginson, *Wendell Phillips*; Birney, *James G. Birney and His Times*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. When did Great Britain abolish the slave trade?
2. How did the cotton-gin make slavery more profitable in the slave states that did not grow cotton?
3. Trace the Missouri Compromise line on a map. Was the compromise more favorable to the North or to the South? Why was it a very important law?
4. If all white men could vote, how could the small number of rich planters be "the real rulers of the South"? Is there a similar situation in our country now?
5. Why were the school systems of the South inferior to those of the North?
6. What motives induce people to work? Did the slaves have any of these motives?
7. Why was slavery wrong? Can you answer the argument in favor of slavery given in the quotation from the governor of South Carolina?
8. Do you admire men like William Lloyd Garrison? Why?
9. Find and read several of Whittier's antislavery poems.
10. What is an orator? Did you ever hear one?
11. Are there any publications that the government refuses to carry in the mail now?
12. Why did the efforts to suppress the abolitionists help to make them more numerous?
13. Which do you love more, the United States or your own state? Why?

+

CHAPTER XVIII

THE WINNING OF TEXAS AND THE FAR WEST

President Tyler Quarrels with the Whigs.—On March 4, 1841, William Henry Harrison was inaugurated president of the United States, and for the first time in its history the Whig party came into control of the government. The Whigs were jubilant, but their joy was soon turned into mourning. President Harrison was sixty-eight years old and not robust. He was worn out by the excitement of the noisy campaign which preceded his election and fatigued by the long journey from his home to the capital. The swarms of office-seekers which beset him day and night gave him little opportunity to rest, and careless exposure brought on pneumonia of which he died just one month after entering the White House.

Inauguration and death of Harrison



William Henry Harrison

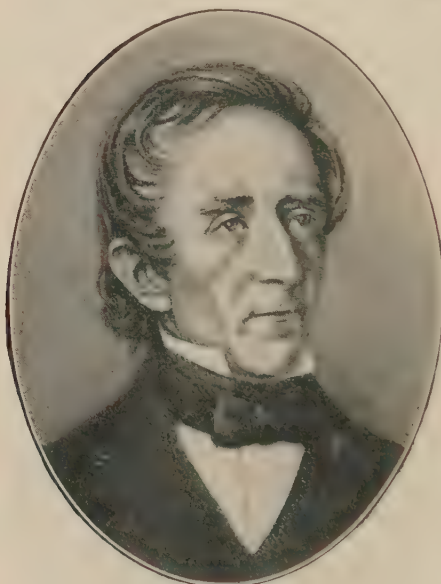
The Whigs intended to reestablish a national bank like the one which Jackson fought and to raise the tariff, but they were thwarted by John Tyler, the vice-president, who became president when Harrison died. Tyler was a state rights Democrat who had quarreled with Jackson. He was nominated for vice-president by the Whigs to win the votes of discontented Democrats like himself. President Tyler vetoed two bank acts which Congress passed, and he

The Whigs desert Tyler

would not sign a bill raising the tariff until 1842. When the Whigs found that Tyler meant to prevent the reestablishment of a national bank they deserted him, and all his cabinet officers except Webster resigned. During most of his term John Tyler was a president without a party.

When Tyler's other cabinet officers left him in disgust at

his refusal to support the policy of the party that elected him, Webster retained the office of secretary of state for a time in order to complete a difficult negotiation which he was carrying on with England. Ever since the close of the Revolution we had been disputing with England about the exact location of our northeastern boundary. The irritation between Maine and Canada over this matter was becoming so great that it threatened war. Fortunately, trouble was averted by a treaty which Webster and



John Tyler

Lord Ashburton made in 1842. Each side sensibly gave up a part of what it claimed, and the present northern boundary of Maine was agreed upon as the dividing line between the two nations. When this question was settled Webster also resigned. No doubt Tyler was glad to see him go, for the president had set his heart upon annexing the vast and fertile country of Texas and he knew that Webster was opposed to such action.

The Story of Texas.—The territory comprised within the present state of Texas was once claimed by both France and Spain. When we bought Louisiana in 1803 we acquired any rights which France had possessed in that region. President Jeffer-

Our north-
eastern
boundary
established

Rival claims
to Texas

son declared that the Rio Grande was the southwestern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, but Spain never admitted this claim. When we bought Florida from Spain in 1819 we agreed to accept the Sabine River as our western boundary on the Gulf coast. Clearly we had no lawful claim to Texas after that date.

All this time Texas was an unsettled wilderness. But in 1819 the rush into the West which followed the War of 1812 was at its height. Hardy frontiersmen were exploring all our western border in search of good land, and they found the fertile plains and mild climate of Texas wonderfully attractive. In 1820 Moses Austin and his son Stephen asked Mexico to grant them land in Texas and to permit them to settle upon it. The Mexicans, who were just winning their independence from Spain, were eager for the development of their unsettled territory and readily gave the Austins a large tract of land. Similar grants were made to other Americans who asked for them. Moses Austin soon died but Stephen F. Austin led many immigrants into Texas and became the real founder of that state. By 1830 there were twenty thousand American pioneers living in Texas, and its broad acres were being rapidly converted into cotton plantations and cattle ranches.

**American
pioneers in
Texas**

The American settlers in Texas soon became dissatisfied with the efforts of the government of Mexico to control their affairs. The Mexicans on the other hand became alarmed at the growing strength of the Americans in one of their states. They forbade the admission of any more immigrants from the United States, stationed Mexican garrisons in Texas, and vexed and oppressed the settlers in that state in other ways. In 1829 slavery was abolished in Mexico. Most of the American settlers in Texas came from slaveholding states, and many of them had brought their slaves with them. Americans continued to go to Texas in spite of the effort of Mexico to exclude them, and the Texans paid no attention to the Mexican law prohibiting slavery. Foremost among the later American settlers in Texas were Sam Houston, a former governor of Tennessee, and David Crockett, a famous frontiersman whose skill as a hunter was a proverb all along the border.

**Trouble
between
Texas and
Mexico**

The Texans soon began to desire their independence. They hated the Mexicans, who they felt to be quite unfit to govern themselves, much less to rule any one else. In 1835

**The Texans
declare their
independence**

the American settlers in Texas took up arms and drove the Mexican garrisons out of the country. Early the next year they adopted a declaration of independence in which they asserted that their political connection with the Mexican nation was forever ended, and proclaimed Texas a free and independent republic.

In the meantime General Santa Anna led a large force of Mexicans into Texas. At first the Texans met with disaster. One hundred and eighty-three of them under Colonel Travis

The Alamo



© Keystone View Co., Meadrille, Pa.

"Remember the Alamo!"

The old Spanish fort which became the Texas Cradle of Liberty. The Massacre enacted here led directly to the Independence of the "Lone Star State".

were besieged in the Alamo, an old Spanish fort at San Antonio. For thirteen days they held out. But at last the walls of the Alamo were breached by the Mexican cannon, and thousands of Santa Anna's soldiers rushed to the assault. A desperate hand-to-hand fight with bayonets and clubbed rifles lasted until the last Texan was slain. Old David Crockett was one of the last to fall. Shortly after the great fight at the Alamo the Mexicans took three hundred prisoners and shot them all in cold blood.

Battle of San Jacinto

These acts of the Mexicans were soon avenged. In April, 1836, General Sam Houston with seven hundred Texans met

Santa Anna at San Jacinto. Charging with the cry "Remember the Alamo!" the Texans utterly destroyed the Mexican army and won the independence of their country at a single blow. Less than a year later the United States recognized Texas as an independent nation.

Hunger for the rich lands of Texas was the chief motive which led American settlers into that region. But the desire of the southern leaders for more slave states, in order to maintain the power of the South in the national government, led them to encourage the settlement and conquest of Texas in the hope of soon annexing it to the United States and then of making several slave states of it. Nearly all the people in Texas were American citizens before they were Texans, and it was natural for them to look forward to the day when their country would become a state in the Union.

At first the United States had been just as eager to acquire Texas as the Texans were for annexation. Both Adams and Jackson had tried to buy Texas from Mexico only to meet the answer, "Not for sale." No sooner had Texas declared its independence in 1836 than it asked to be admitted into the Union as a state. But the rising antislavery sentiment at the time made the North unwilling to grant this request. Webster voiced the feeling of his section when he said in 1837, "Texas is likely to be a slaveholding country, and I frankly avow my entire unwillingness to do anything that shall extend the slavery of the African race on this continent." Then, too, Mexico did not acknowledge the independence of Texas, and annexation might easily bring on a war with that country. For these reasons no steps were taken toward annexing Texas while Jackson and Van Buren were presidents.

John Tyler was a southern man and a slaveholder. He sympathized with the desire of his section to extend slavery in the Southwest and was eager to add Texas to the Union in his administration. He could take no steps to bring this about, as we have seen, until after Webster withdrew from his cabinet. In 1843 the desire to get Texas was quickened by the rumor that England was planning to acquire it. The next year John C. Calhoun, then Tyler's secretary of state, made a treaty of annexation with Texas, but the feeling against this treaty was so strong in the country that it failed to get the necessary two-

**Texas
desires
annexation
to the United
States**

**Our attitude
toward
annexation**

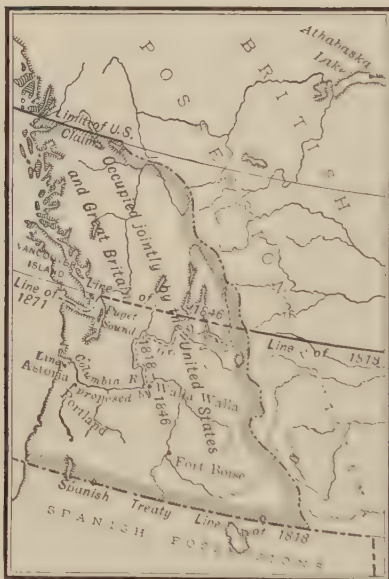
**A treaty
annexing
Texas fails in
the Senate**

thirds vote in the Senate. The question of annexing Texas then became a leading issue in the presidential election of 1844.

The Settlement of the Oregon Country.—We have already seen how England and the United States both claimed the vast domain west of the Rocky Mountains between California and Alaska. In 1818 these nations had agreed that for the present

the Oregon country, as this rich region was called, should be free and open to both English and American traders and settlers. This joint occupation arrangement was renewed in 1827, with the understanding that either party to it could end it by giving the other party one year's notice. The joint occupation of Oregon by England and America really meant that eventually the country would belong to the nation whose people actually occupied it.

Lewis and Clark had first shown the way across the continent to Oregon. American trappers and fur traders continued the work of exploration which they



The Oregon Country

began. These roving frontiersmen found the best passes through the Rocky Mountains and marked out the trails leading to them. The first actual American settlements in the Oregon country were made by missionaries to the Indians about 1835. The glowing reports of the country which the traders and missionaries sent home soon tempted parties of settlers to follow the long trail which led to the Pacific Coast.

Dr. Marcus Whitman, one of the early missionaries to the Indians, is the best known of the Oregon pioneers. In 1842 this heroic man rode alone across the continent from Oregon to Boston on business for his mission, and the following year

Joint
occupation
of Oregon

Exploration
of the far
Northwest

American
settlers in
Oregon

when he returned to the valley of the Columbia River he was accompanied across the plains and through the mountains by a large party of settlers. In 1844 a thousand more settlers went to Oregon. In the meantime only a few British trappers and fur traders had entered the Oregon country. In 1843 the American settlers in Oregon organized a government to manage their affairs until the United States should make their country a territory. A few men in Congress laughed at the idea of governing the far distant Pacific Coast, but by 1844 a majority of the American people were eager to have their country acquire all of the Oregon region. Thus the expansion of our country by the annexation of Texas in the Southwest and the occupation of all of Oregon in the far Northwest became the burning question before the American people when the time came to elect a president in 1844.

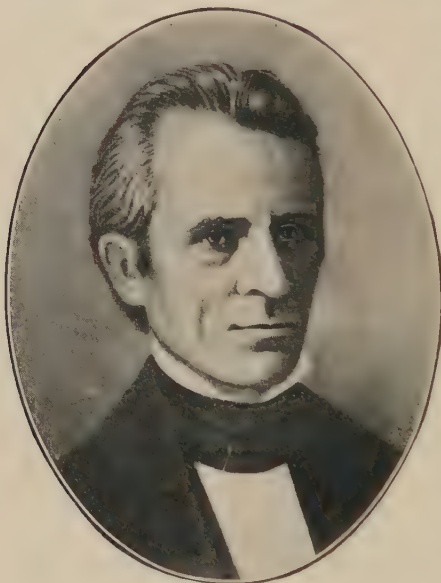
X The Election of 1844.—The Democrats in their platform of 1844 declared in favor of annexing Texas and of holding all of Oregon. This gave them a popular issue in each section of the country. In the South, which was eager to acquire more slave territory, their campaign cry was "The reannexation of Texas." By this slogan they meant that Texas had once belonged to the United States, that it had been unwisely given up in 1819, and that it ought promptly to be recovered. In the North, which cared more for securing the land we claimed on the Pacific Coast than it did for annexing Texas, the Democrats shouted, "Fifty-four forty or fight!" By this cry they meant that they would go to war with England before they would give up a foot of the Oregon country south of $54^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude. At first it seemed certain that Martin Van Buren would be the Democratic nominee for the third time, but his objection to annexing Texas led his party to pass him by and make James K. Polk of Tennessee their candidate for the presidency.

The
Democrats
favor
expansion.

The Whigs unanimously nominated their great leader Henry Clay. There was not a word in their platform about Texas or Oregon. But the Whigs had unbounded confidence in Clay, and his position upon any important question was certain to win the approval of his followers. Only a few days before his nomination Clay had written a letter in which he expressed the opinion that the proposed annexation of Texas

Clay and the
Whigs

was sure to bring on a war with Mexico, and added, "For one, I certainly am not willing to involve this country in a foreign war for the object of acquiring Texas." This was almost exactly the position which lost Van Buren the Democratic nomination. Before the campaign closed Clay began to fear that the southern Whigs in their desire to get Texas might vote for Polk, and to



James Knox Polk

retain their support he wrote another letter in which he said, "Far from having any personal objection to the annexation of Texas I should be glad to see it, without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms." Probably Clay lost more votes than he won by this letter. After reading it many antislavery Whigs refused to vote for him. The Democrats won in a very close election, and on March 4, 1845, James K. Polk became president of the United States.

The election of 1844 led to the immediate acquisition of Texas. Before President Tyler left the White House both houses of Congress passed a resolution offering Texas annexation to the United States. The people of Texas welcomed this proposal with joy, and before the close of 1845 Texas became a state in the Union. Florida was admitted the same year. Texas and Florida were the last slave states ever admitted to the Union. The balance between the free and slave states was soon restored by the admission of Iowa in 1846 and Wisconsin in 1848.

President Polk did not succeed in making good the bold declaration of his party about the Oregon country. Early in 1846 he made a treaty with England which provided that the

Texas
annexed

Other new
states

boundary line between the United States and the British possessions should be continued westward along the forty-ninth parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the middle of the channel between Vancouver Island and the mainland and thence along the middle of the channel around the southern end of that island to the Pacific. There were no American settlements north of the forty-ninth parallel.

**How the
Oregon
question
was
settled**

By this treaty the United States retained the present states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, and conceded British Columbia to Great Britain. It is much to the credit of both England and the United States that they settled their long and vexing controversy over the ownership of the Oregon country without bloodshed.

Our War with Mexico.—Just south of the Oregon country lay the large Mexican province of California. In 1845 that region was inhabited chiefly by Indians with here and there a Spanish mission station or the home of a Mexican cattle rancher. At San Francisco and San

Diego it possessed two of the few good harbors on the Pacific coast. California and the other Mexican territory between it and Texas lay directly west of the United States, and American statesmen were beginning to say that it was the destiny of this vast region in the Southwest to fall into our hands. As yet our people knew little about the wealth of California. But if the daring and ambitious among them ever heard that there was gold in that distant region or learned of its wonderful possibilities as a land of grain and fruit, Mexico could no more have kept them from possessing it than the Indians could



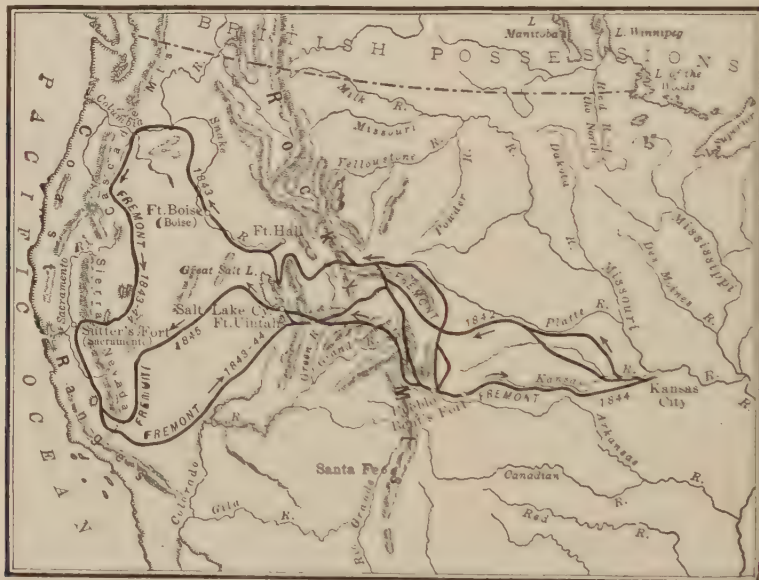
Frémont in the Rockies

**We
desire
California**

stop the frontiersmen from overrunning the Mississippi Valley. Sooner or later California was sure to repeat the history of Texas.

**John C. Frémont,
"The
Pathfinder"**

Already steps had been taken to find the best routes to the Pacific Coast. Between 1842 and 1845 John C. Frémont, a young officer in the army, led several exploring parties into the



Frémont's Explorations in the West

far West. With the help of Kit Carson, one of the most famous hunters and scouts in the history of the West, Frémont sought out the best passes through the Rocky Mountains, explored the basin of Great Salt Lake, and twice reached the Pacific Coast. The spring of 1846 found him with his party in the mountains of northern California. Frémont's work in locating the trails through the great mountains of the West won for him the name of "The Pathfinder."

**Polk's
purpose
to get
California**

James K. Polk began his administration in 1845 with the purpose of winning the Mexican province of California for the United States. He shared the national desire for expansion

and feared that if we did not acquire California some foreign power would. Moreover, as a southern man, Polk was as eager as the other leaders of his section to get new lands which might be made into slave states. The antislavery men charged that this was his real purpose in trying to acquire land from Mexico. Lowell best expressed their opinion when he wrote in the *Biglow Papers*:

“They jest want this Californy,
So’s to lug new slave-states in.
To abuse ye, an’ to scorn ye,
An’ to plunder ye like sin.”

President Polk meant to fight for California if necessary, but first he tried to get it by peaceful methods. Just at this time Mexico owed citizens of the United States several million dollars which she had no money to pay. Then there was a dispute about the boundary line between Texas and Mexico. Texas claimed all the land east of the Rio Grande River from its mouth to its source. Mexico said with just as much reason that the Nueces River was the southern limit of Texas. Polk sent John Slidell of Louisiana to Mexico to try to settle the boundary trouble and to offer to pay all just claims of our citizens against Mexico and give that country twenty-five million dollars besides, if it would cede California to us. The government of Mexico refused to have anything to do with Slidell, who wrote that nothing could be done with the Mexicans “until they shall have been chastised.”

His efforts to
negotiate
with Mexico
fail

Failing to get the territory he wanted by peaceful negotiation the president next tried war. Early in 1846 he ordered General Taylor to advance with an army to the Rio Grande. When Taylor obeyed, Mexico warned him to withdraw from the disputed territory. He paid no attention to this warning, and a few days later Mexican soldiers crossed the Rio Grande, attacked a part of Taylor’s force, and killed several men. Polk at once informed Congress that Mexico “had invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil” and declared that war existed “by the act of Mexico.” It would have been just as true to have said that war had been provoked by the United States. Congress agreed with the president and authorized him to wage war against Mexico.

War with
Mexico

Taylor's campaign

The actual fighting in the Mexican War lasted from May, 1846, until September, 1847. It was marked by skill and daring on the part of the officers and men of our army. General Zachary Taylor, a plain but capable old soldier whose men called him "Old Zack" or "Old Rough and Ready", fought his way across the Rio Grande and invaded northeastern Mexico in a brilliant campaign in which he won every battle.

We seize California



The Disputed Territory and the Campaigns of Taylor and Scott.

Soon after war was declared another army under General Kearney marched across the plains and seized New Mexico. With a small force, Kearney pushed on to California, only to find it already in the hands of the Americans. There were a few settlers from the United States in California in 1846, and before they heard that war had begun they revolted against Mexico and set up a little republic of their own which was called the "Bear State" because of the picture of a grizzly bear upon its flag. John C. Frémont, who was in California at this time with an exploring

party, aided this revolt, and our naval officers seized the towns on the Californian coast.

Scott captures the City of Mexico

All the territory which we coveted was now in our possession, but Mexico refused to make peace on our terms and it was decided to strike at the capital of that country. In 1847 General Winfield Scott led an expedition against the City of Mexico. Scott had won his laurels in the War of 1812. He was

a skilful and confident leader, but so fond of pomp and parade that the soldiers called him "Old Fuss and Feathers." Scott landed his army at Vera Cruz and marched into the interior of Mexico defeating the enemy in every battle. In September he stormed and captured the capital of the country. Mexico could resist no longer and must accept any terms of peace that we proposed.

~~X~~ **The Results of the Mexican War.**—With Mexico at our mercy most of the members of Polk's cabinet wanted to take



The Battle of Chapultepec

all of it, but the president refused to destroy the existence of an independent nation by conquest. Early in 1848 he made a treaty of peace with Mexico in which that country agreed that the Rio Grande should be the southern boundary of Texas and ceded New Mexico, California, and all the land between them north of the Gila River to the United States. Our country agreed on its part to pay the claims of its citizens against Mexico and to give Mexico fifteen million dollars for the ceded territory. In 1853 we paid Mexico ten million dollars more for the strip of land between the Gila River and the present southern boundary of Arizona. This acquisition is called the Gadsden Purchase from the name of the American agent who bought it.

Territorial gains

A new
outlook on
the Pacific

The years from 1845 to 1848 are very significant in the history of the territorial growth of our country. During this short period of time we annexed Texas, our largest state, gained a clear title to the territory in the far Northwest now comprised in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, and conquered the enormous Mexican cession which in the course of time was cut up to form the large states of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona. This winning of the Pacific Coast gave



The Territory Acquired from Mexico

our people a new outlook. They had long faced Europe. They now looked toward Asia also and were ready for more direct trade with the Orient.

The breach
between the
North and
the South
widened

The war with Mexico increased the growing discord between the North and the South. The South hoped that this war would result in the making of more slave holding states. The North felt more strongly every day that further extension of slavery ought to stop. Soon after the war began the president asked Congress for money to pay Mexico for the land which he meant to take from her. While Congress was considering a bill to grant this request, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania moved to amend it by providing that slavery should never exist within any territory acquired from Mexico. This

Wilmot Proviso, as it was called passed the House of Representatives, but failed in the Senate. The next year the House adopted the Wilmot Proviso a second time and again the Senate rejected it. The long and bitter discussion of the Wilmot Proviso in Congress and in the newspapers only deepened the antagonism between the North and the South and brought the nation nearer the verge of civil war. At the same time the Mexican War gave our people reason to be proud of their army and trained the soldiers like Grant, Lee, Sherman, Jackson, and a host of others, who were destined to lead the forces of their respective sections in the coming conflict.

The Rush to California.—Only a few days before the treaty ending the Mexican War was signed, a man who was digging



The Wilmot Proviso

Fighting in Mexican Streets



Sutter's Mill

The discovery of gold at this mill led to the rush of the "Forty-niners".

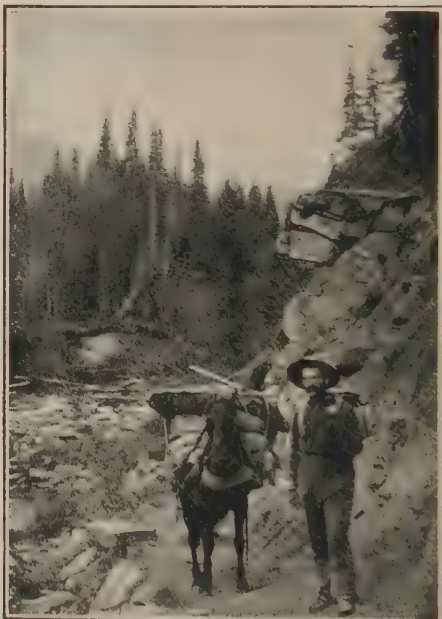
a mill-race for Cap- Gold found
tain Sutter in the in California
the valley of the Sacra-
mento River, no-
ticed some yellow
grains which proved
to be gold. The
news of this dis-
covery spread like
wildfire, and from
all parts of Califor-
nia men hastened to
the new gold field.
Farms and shops
were abandoned,
the sailors deserted

the ships that came into San Francisco harbor, and by mid-summer four thousand men were in camp along the Sacramento washing the gravel in a mad scramble for the precious metal.

The "Forty-niners"

It took news from the Pacific Coast a long time to cross the continent in 1848, and that year had nearly passed before the most of our people heard that gold had been found in California. Everywhere the report aroused intense excitement. Many

people at once decided to seek their fortunes in the far West. They were joined in this quest by adventurers from all parts of the world. "The Forty-niners," as the swarm of men who went to the Californian gold fields in 1849 were called, found their journey to the golden West a dangerous undertaking. Some of them sailed by the long water route around Cape Horn. Others went by sea to the isthmus of Panama, made their way as best they could across that bit of fever haunted country, and when opportunity offered took ship along the coast to San Francisco. But the majority



Doubleday Page and Co., N. Y.
A Gold Miner

Primitive gold mining and washing can be carried on with such a small equipment that it can all be carried on one packhorse.

of the gold hunters followed the long trail across the plains and through the Rocky Mountains to the distant West.

The overland journey

The overland journey to California in 1849 was a daring adventure. Those who chose this route gathered at starting points on the Missouri River and thence began their long and toilsome march across the continent. They traveled with large covered wagons called prairie schooners, and when they were

crossing the plains they must have looked like a moving army. "In the day their trains filled up the road for miles, and at night their campfires glittered in every direction about the places blessed by grass and water." The faint-hearted turned back, the weak died of hardship and disease and were buried beside the trail, but the greater number successfully braved the perils of the mountains and the desert and reached the land of their desire.

During 1849 more than eighty thousand persons arrived in California. The Sacramento valley was filled with mining



San Francisco in 1849.

camps, and San Francisco was rapidly becoming a great city. Many of the "Forty-niners" were rough and lawless men, and for a time there was little protection for life and property in the new gold field. But the better class of citizens organized into "vigilance committees," punished the criminals, and soon established law and order in the new community. Before 1849 closed they made a state constitution forbidding slavery and asked Congress to admit California into the Union.

California
seeks
admission
into the
Union

REFERENCES.

Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*; Garrison, *Westward Extension*; Texas; Royce, *California*; Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*; Schafer, *The Pacific Northwest*; Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*; Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*; Histories of the United States by McMaster, Schouler, Rhodes, and Wilson.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Story of the Alamo. Lodge and Roosevelt, *Hero Tales from American History*, 176-180.
2. The Acquisition of Texas. Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*, 310-323.
3. Across the Continent on the Oregon Trail. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VII, 287-288.
4. Hunting Buffalo on the Plains. Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*, 327-338.
5. A Journey in the Rocky Mountains. Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*, 264-279.
6. Fremont's First Trip to the Rocky Mountains. McMurry, *Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains and the West*, 40-57.
7. Fremont's Trip to Salt Lake and California. McMurry, *Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains and the West*, 60-93.
8. Polk's Reasons for War with Mexico. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 20-23.
9. A Speech in the Senate denouncing the Mexican War. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 24-26.
10. Taylor's Campaign. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VII, 440-461.
11. The Conquest of California. Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*, 324-335.
12. Scott's Campaign. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VII, 505-523.
13. The Rush to California. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VII, 585-614, or Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*, 336-350.
14. The Adventures of a "Forty-niner." Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 43-48, or McMurry, *Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains and the West*, 99-113.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Joaquin Miller, *The Defense of the Alamo*; Whittier, *Texas*; *The Angels of Buena Vista*; *The Crisis*; Lowell, *The Biglow Papers*; Longfellow, *Victor Galbraith*; O'Hara, *The Bivouac of the Dead*; Lytle, *The Volunteers*.

Stories: Irving, *Astoria*; Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*; Atherton, *The Valiant Runaway*; *The Splendid Idle Forties*; Watts, *Nathan Burke*; Wilson, *Lions of the Lord*; Barr, *Remember the Alamo!* Munroe, *With Crockett and Bowie*; *Golden Days of Forty-nine*; Canfield, *Diary of a Forty-niner*; Bret Harte, *Luck of Roaring Camp*; *Tales of the Argonauts*; *Gabriel Conroy*; Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado*.

Biographies: Clay, *Henry Clay*; Roosevelt, *Thomas H. Benton*; Bruce, *Life of General Houston*; Howard, *General Taylor*; Wright, *General Scott*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. For what did the Whig party stand? What is meant by calling Tyler a "State-rights Democrat"?
2. How did the capital of Texas get its name? How large is Texas? What are the chief natural resources of Texas? Of the Oregon country? Of California? Were the Texans right in rebelling against Mexico?
3. Trace on the map the route of the overland trail to Oregon.
4. Did the antislavery Whigs who refused to vote for Clay in 1844 act wisely?
5. Did the United States or England have the better claim to the Oregon country? Why?
6. What is meant by the remark, "California was sure to repeat the history of Texas"?
7. Have you ever read any of the *Biglow Papers*? In what dialect are they written?
8. Did Texas have a just claim to the disputed territory between the Nueces and Rio Grande rivers? Which side began the Mexican War?
9. Trace on a map the boundaries of the Mexican cession of 1848. Of the Gadsden Purchase. Would it have been better for the Mexicans if we had annexed all of their country in 1848? Why?
10. If you had been one of the "Forty-niners" which of the routes to California would you have chosen? Why?
11. Name and locate all the additions to our territory from 1783 to 1853.
12. Question for debate: Resolved, That the conduct of our country in engaging in war with Mexico was justified by the facts in the case.

X

CHAPTER XIX

DISUNION DELAYED BY COMPROMISE

Shall the
West be free
or slave
territory?

The Slavery Controversy.—Ever since they freed their slaves just after the Revolution, the people of the northern states had been anxious to prevent the extension of slavery into the new lands in the West. In this purpose they had been partly successful. The Ordinance of 1787 excluded slavery from all the land north of the Ohio River. By the Missouri Compromise of 1820 it was forbidden in that part of the Louisiana Purchase north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ except the state of Missouri. In 1848 it was prohibited in the new territory of Oregon. At this time the whole country was much agitated over the question whether slavery should be permitted or forbidden in the vast region just won from Mexico.

Four
answers to
this question

Four answers to this question were suggested and each had its ardent adherents. Many northern men believed that Congress ought to keep slavery out of all the territories of the United States. Such men had been earnest supporters of the Wilmot Proviso. Most southern men agreed with Calhoun, who held that a southern man had just as good a right to take his slaves into the territories of the United States as a northern man had to take his horses. Some people were in favor of making the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ the boundary between slave and free territory all the way to the Pacific. This would have divided California into two states, one slave and one free. Others wanted to leave the question to the decision of the actual settlers in each territory concerned, and let them make their state slave or free as they pleased. This idea was known as "popular sovereignty" and is sometimes called "squatter sovereignty."

Fugitive
slaves

The territorial question was not the only bone of contention between the North and the South at this time. Many northern men thought it a shame that slaves were bought and sold in the capital of the nation, and some of them wanted to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. The South complained that it was very difficult to recover runaway

slaves who reached the northern states. This was true, because the abolitionists had a regular system of helping fugitive slaves to escape. The agents of the "Underground Railroad," as this system was called, hid the fugitives in their houses or in secret places during the day, and at night carried them in their wagons to another "station" on the road toward Canada. When the runaways reached Canada they were safe, because slavery was forbidden by law in all parts of the British Empire.

The "Underground Railroad"

The presidential election of 1848 was held while the people were deeply concerned about the question of slavery in New Mexico and California. Neither of the two great parties dared to take sides upon this question. Each of them had many members in the North and in the South, and it was impossible to get the men from both sections to agree about slavery. General Zachary Taylor, the popular hero of the Mexican War, was nominated for the presidency by the Whigs. Taylor was a Louisiana sugar planter who owned many slaves, but he had never urged the extension of slavery in the territories. Lewis Cass of Michigan, the Democratic candidate, favored letting the people in each territory settle the slavery question for themselves. He hoped that "popular sovereignty" would please the Democrats in both sections of the country. Many northern antislavery men refused to vote for either Taylor or Cass. These men now formed the Free-soil party, declared that they favored "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men," and made Martin Van Buren their candidate for the presidency. The Whigs won for the second and last time in their history, and on March 4, 1849, Zachary Taylor became president of the United States.

The election of 1848

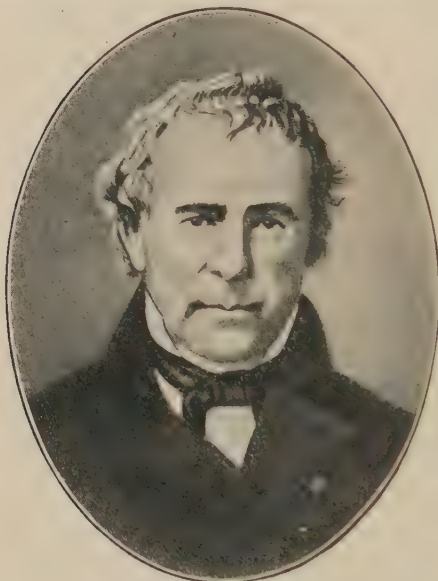
The Union in Danger.—When Congress met in December, 1849, the continued agitation of the question of the extension of slavery into New Mexico and California had stirred up so much bitter feeling between the North and the South that it could no longer be disguised or denied that the Union was in danger. The demands of both sections were being stated with a temper which could not be mistaken.

The slavery question threatens the Union

The legislature of Virginia declared that the exclusion of slavery from the new territory would compel the people of that state to choose between "abstract submission to aggression and

The position of the South

outrage" and "determined resistance at all hazards and to the last extremity." This sentiment of Virginia was widely approved all over the South. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, who was soon to succeed Calhoun as the leader of the South, called upon every southern man to help maintain the political power of his section. Robert Toombs of Georgia said to the northern representatives in Congress, "We have a right to call



Zachary Taylor

on you to give your blood to maintain the slaves of the South in bondage," and added, "If you seek to drive us from the territories of California and New Mexico, purchased by the common blood and treasure of the whole people, *I am for disunion.*" At a dinner to Senator Butler in South Carolina, toasts to "Slavery" and to "A Southern Confederacy" were received with wild enthusiasm.

The people of the North were no less outspoken in their demands.

Nearly all the northern

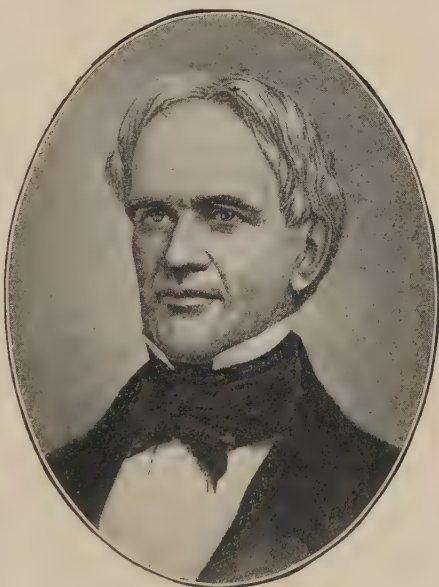
legislatures declared that Congress had the power, and that it was its duty, to prohibit slavery in the territories. Horace Mann spoke for the radical free soil men when he said in Congress, "Better disunion, better a civil and servile war, better anything that God in his providence shall send, than an extension of the boundaries of slavery." Representative Baker of Illinois declared, "In the name of the men of the North so rudely attacked, and speaking what I know to be their sentiments, I say a dissolution of this Union must be, shall be, impossible as long as an American heart beats in an American bosom."

The
attitude
of the
North

Clay Proposes a Compromise.—In 1849 Henry Clay was still the best loved man in America. He had retired from public life some years before and was then living quietly on his plantation in Kentucky. Clay was seventy-two years old at this time and broken in health, but when the mutterings of disunion were heard, the legislature of Kentucky unanimously elected the old peacemaker to his former place in the Senate. He accepted this election as the call of duty and returned to Washington to devote his last years to the service of his country.

The peace-maker

Clay believed that the Union was in peril and felt that he was the man to save it. He thought that the only way to avert disunion was by compromise, by each section giving up a part of what it desired. "Let me say to the North and to the South," he said, "what husband and wife say to each other: we have mutual faults; neither of us is perfect; nothing in the form of humanity is perfect. Let us then be kind to each other, forbearing, forgiving each other's faults, and above all, let us live in happiness and peace together."



Clay seeks to save the Union

Horace Mann

An educator who spoke for the Free Soil Cause.

In this spirit Clay proposed a series of measures which he hoped would bring peace and quiet to the country by removing the slavery question from the field of politics. His plan included concessions to both sections. To please the North he proposed to admit California into the Union as a free state and to abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia. To win the approval of the South he wanted to pass a fugitive slave law that would

His compromise measures

make it easier to recover runaway slaves, to pay Texas to give up her claim to that part of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande River, and then to organize territorial governments in the region between Texas and California without saying anything about slavery. This would leave the settlers in New Mexico and Utah to decide the slavery question for themselves.

The leaders
in the Senate

A Great Debate in the Senate.—The Compromise of 1850, as Clay's plan is called, was debated for months in Congress. The Senate of that time was a particularly able body of men. Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, who had been the great leaders in American politics for forty years, met in it for the last time. Calhoun died while the compromise was before Congress, and Webster and Clay survived him only two years. William H. Seward of New York, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi were younger senators who were destined to play a great part in the history of their country for the next twenty years. All these men and many others in both houses of Congress took an active part in the great debate upon the proposed compromise, but the speeches of Clay, Calhoun, Webster, and Seward are worthy of special study because they best express the convictions and feelings of the American people at that time.

Clay's plea
for the Union

Clay, a southern Whig, urged the adoption of the compromise of which he was the author in one of the most persuasive speeches of his life. In words of moving eloquence he pictured the state of the country, called upon the North and the South to make mutual concessions for the sake of peace and harmony, and pleaded for the perpetuation of the Union in the hearts of the people. Love of the Union was an absorbing passion with Henry Clay. "Let us," he said, "think only of our glorious Union and swear that we will preserve it."

Calhoun
defends the
South

Calhoun, a southern Democrat speaking for the proslavery men of his section, opposed the compromise with all his might. "The South," he declared, "asks for justice, simple justice, and less she ought not to take. She has no compromise to offer but the Constitution; and no concession or surrender to make." "I have," said Calhoun, "believed from the first that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion." He then went on to declare that the only way in which the Union could be saved was for the North to stop talking about the

slave question, to return fugitive slaves to their masters, and to concede to the people of the South the right to take their slaves into all the territories of the United States.

On the 7th of March, Webster, who was a northern Whig, made what he regarded as the greatest speech of his life in support of Clay's compromise. Webster, like Clay, passionately loved the Union, and he was dismayed at the open talk of secession. "I speak to-day," he said, "for the preservation of the Union. 'Hear me for my cause.'" Webster told the men of the North that it was unnecessary to prohibit slavery in New Mexico because it was already excluded from that region by the law of physical geography. He meant that slavery could only exist where slaves could profitably be employed in agriculture, and that this would never be the case in the arid regions of the Southwest. Webster admitted that the complaints of the South about the difficulty of recovering runaway slaves were just, and declared that the North had failed to do its duty in this matter. He closed with an eloquent plea for the Union. Instead of speaking of the possibility of secession he said, "Let us enjoy the fresh air of liberty and union. Let us make our generation one of the strongest and brightest links in that golden chain which is destined, I fondly believe, to grapple the people of all the states to this Constitution for ages to come."

Webster's
seventh-of-
March
speech

The zealous antislavery men of the North were sorely displeased with Webster's seventh-of-March speech. They were especially angry at him for scolding them for their failure to return runaway slaves. "By this speech a blow was struck at freedom which no southern arm could have given," said one. "I know no deed in American history done by a son of New England to which I can compare this but the act of Benedict Arnold," declared another. But Whittier best voiced the antislavery indignation against Webster when he wrote:

The anti-
slavery men
are angry at
Webster

"Of all we loved and honored, naught
Save power remains;
A fallen angel's pride of thought,
Still strong in chains.
All else is gone; from those great eyes
The soul has fled;
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead!"

This bitter denunciation of Webster was very unjust. The men who uttered it thought that he was trying to curry favor with the South in the hope of winning the presidency, but patriotic devotion to the Union was his real motive. Webster was an old man who did not hate slavery as much as many younger men were coming to hate it. The conscience of the age had outgrown him.

Seward, the
spokesman
of anti-
slavery

Seward, a northern Whig, spoke for the antislavery men. He believed that slavery would soon disappear before the influences of humanity. "I am," he said, "opposed to any such compromise as that proposed because I think it radically wrong and essentially vicious." He plainly told the South that it was entitled to no more fugitive slave laws and that such laws would be useless. "Has any government," he asked, "ever succeeded in changing the moral convictions of its subjects by force? We cannot be true Christians or real freemen if we impose on another a chain that we defy all human power to fasten on ourselves." Seward declared that the Constitution devotes the territory of the United States to union and to liberty, and added, "But there is a higher law than the Constitution which devoted it to the same noble purposes."

The
compromise
becomes law

The Compromise of 1850 Adopted.—For a long time the adoption of Clay's proposed compromise was in doubt. President Taylor was known to be opposed to it, and there seemed little use in passing a measure that he was sure to veto. But Taylor died in July, 1850, and Vice-President Fillmore who succeeded him was more inclined to favor the measure. Even then Congress would not pass the scheme as a whole, but when each part of it was voted on separately all were adopted.

Its terms

The Compromise of 1850 included the following acts:

1. The admission of California into the Union as a free state.
2. The fixing of the present boundaries of Texas and the payment to that state of \$10,000,000 for its claim to New Mexico.
3. The organization of the territories of New Mexico and Utah without mentioning slavery in them but with the declaration that when admitted as states they "shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe at the time of their admission."

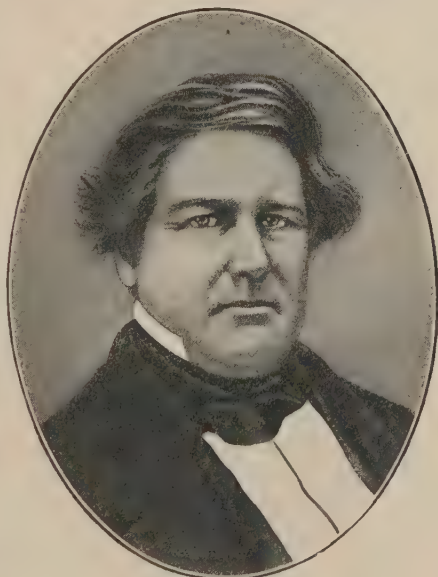
4. The abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

5. A very strict fugitive slave law which denied to the runaway negro the right of trial by jury, punished anyone who aided a slave to escape or hindered his arrest, and commanded all citizens to help in the return of fugitive slaves if their aid were asked by the officers.

The Compromise of 1850 was a truce, not a real peace between the sections, but it is probable that its passage postponed secession for ten years. This delay of the coming conflict between the free states and the slave states was a decided gain for the cause of the Union. Our country grew very rapidly in population, wealth, and power during the decade between 1850 and 1860. Much the larger part of this gain was in the North. That section was far better able to defend the Union in 1860 than it would have been ten years earlier.

The Fugitive Slave Law.—The adoption of the Compromise of 1850 was hailed with joy by a majority of our people, who hoped that it meant the beginning of a new era of good feeling in the country. Both of the great political parties proclaimed that all the troublesome questions growing out of slavery were finally settled. In 1852 the Whigs said that they deprecated all further agitation of the slavery question as dangerous to our peace, and the Democrats resolved that they would resist all attempts to renew such agitation in Congress or out of it. In the presidential election of that year the Whigs made General Winfield Scott

Secession
postponed



Millard Fillmore

Both parties
accept the
compromise

The
election of
1852

their candidate for the presidency, and the Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. Pierce was elected by a large majority and succeeded Fillmore in 1853.

Antislavery
men
denounce
the fugitive
slave law

But no great moral issue like the slavery question is ever finally settled until the right has won. Such questions cannot be successfully compromised, as our people very soon discovered. From the first the new fugitive slave law met a storm of opposition in the North. In all parts of that section the



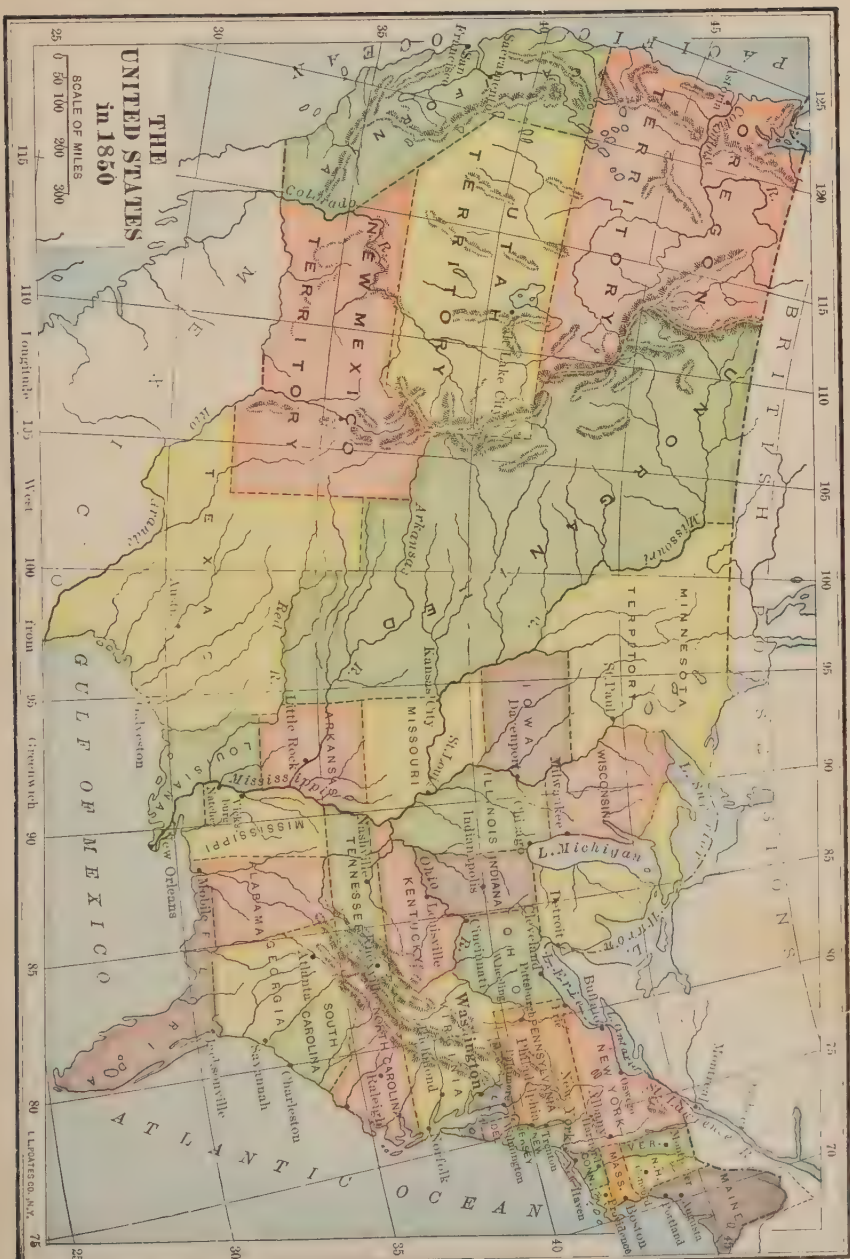
Franklin Pierce

antislavery men refused to obey it. A meeting of citizens in Ohio resolved, "That any man who in any way aids in the execution of this law should be regarded as false to God and totally unfit for civilized society." A judge in New York whose duty it was to enforce the fugitive slave law said, "I will trample that law in the dust; and they must find another man, if there be one, who will disgrace himself to do this dirty work." Henry Ward Beecher, the most eloquent preacher of the time, maintained

that returning a fugitive slave "comprises every offense it is possible for one man to commit against another;" and Emerson, one of our greatest men of letters, said in a public meeting, "The fugitive slave law is an act which every one of you will break on the earliest occasion." Sentiments similar to these were heard in every one of the free states.

Attempts to
rescue
fugitive
slaves

The actions of the antislavery men spoke even louder than their words. The Underground Railroad did a larger business than ever before. Sometimes runaway slaves were



arrested and carried back into slavery, but in many instances the enforcement of the law was thwarted and in some cases mobs rescued fugitives from their captors. Some of these rescue cases were famous. In 1851 a Maryland slave owner accompanied by a United States officer tried to arrest a runaway slave at Christiana, Pennsylvania. Some of the people in the neighborhood rallied to the defense of the slave, and in the fight which followed, the owner was killed and the fugitive escaped. About the same time a negro named Jerry McHenry was arrested as a fugitive from slavery at Syracuse, New York. That night a mob broke into the court-house in which Jerry was confined, carried him away in triumph, and finally sent him safely to Canada. In 1854 some people in Boston tried to rescue Anthony Burns, a runaway from Virginia who had been arrested in that city, but this time the police were too strong for the mob and, with the aid of a company of militia, Burns was carried back into slavery.

Many northern people who had no desire to interfere with slavery in the South sympathized with the fugitives who had fled from bondage and were trying to reach a land of freedom. The efforts to return these runaways to their masters only strengthened the growing antislavery sentiment in the free states. In time this feeling became so strong that some of the northern states passed personal liberty laws which made the execution of the fugitive slave law still more difficult, by giving the runaway the help of a lawyer and the right of trial by a jury.

Growing
feeling
against
slavery

The literature which was written in the North during the years when the agitation of the slavery question was dividing the country into two hostile sections played no small part in promoting that movement. Whittier and Lowell poured forth their souls in verses of passionate indignation against slavery. But Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was the most powerful literary force of the antislavery days. This famous book was published in 1852, and during the next five years half a million copies of it were sold in the United States. Its northern readers laid it down with an increased hatred of slavery. Few books have ever done more to arouse public opinion.

Antislavery
literature

Years of Growth.—While the agitation of the slavery question was the most important movement in our history between 1845 and 1861 we must not think that our people

A period of
rapid growth

were absorbed in it all the time. Then, as now, most people were interested first of all in their own business affairs. Moreover, the new-found wealth of the marvelous gold fields of California was quickening every line of business. The great mass of the people willingly accepted the Compromise of 1850, because they were eager to turn from politics to the task of developing their farms, opening new mines and factories, inventing new machinery, and building new railroads. The years from 1850 to 1860 were a time of very rapid growth along all these lines.

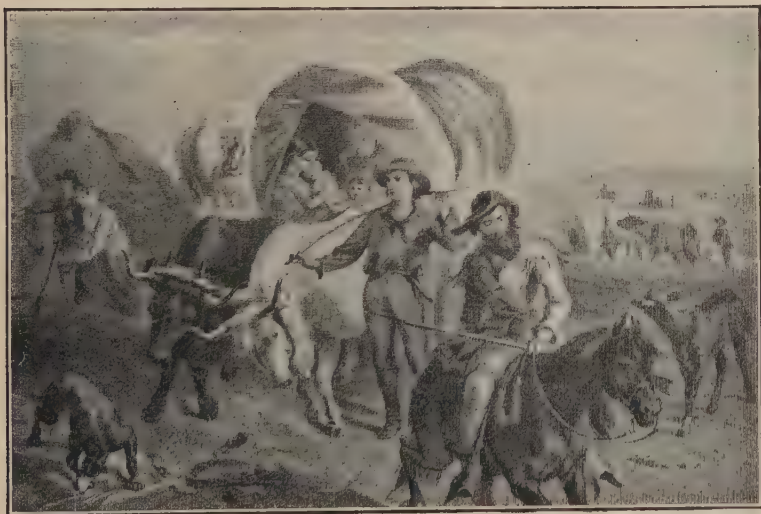
The rising
tide of
immigration

Our population, which was seventeen millions in 1840, grew to twenty-three millions in 1850 and to thirty-one millions in 1860. This rapid increase in the number of our people was due in part to the large number of immigrants who were flocking to the United States from Europe. America has ever been the land of hope and promise to the people without a fair chance in the Old World. The tide of immigration had long been slowly rising. It reached one hundred thousand in a single year, for the first time, in 1842. About this time the establishment of steamship lines across the Atlantic was making it easier than ever before to come to the New World. A terrible famine in Ireland in 1846 drove swarms of Irishmen across the sea. More than a million of them came to America in the next ten years. In 1848 the people of Germany tried to establish a free government in that country. They failed in this attempt, and during the following years many thousands of freedom-loving Germans fled from the tyranny in their own land to seek homes in democratic America. The discovery of gold on the Pacific Coast, our cheap western lands, and the steady demand for laborers in the United States, all helped to stimulate immigration between 1850 and 1860.

Immigrants
help to
develop the
free states

The Irish immigrants found employment in the factory cities of the East or in building the new railroads whose construction was being pushed rapidly at this time. Many of the German newcomers joined the stream of home seekers which was pouring like a flood into the Northwest. Between 1850 and 1860 the population of Illinois and Wisconsin doubled and that of Iowa increased more than threefold. Meanwhile the frontier was moving steadily westward. Minnesota became a state in 1858 and Kansas in 1861. The more adventurous pioneers followed the long trails across the plains and through

the mountains to the distant Pacific Coast. California grew to be a populous state and Oregon was admitted to the Union in 1859. The same year gold was found near Pike's Peak, and the eager treasure hunters who rushed thither founded the first towns in the territory of Colorado. Nearly all the European immigrants who came to our country during these years of rapid growth settled in the free states. Labor was the badge of slavery in the South, and the immigrant who brought



Emigrants Crossing the Plains

little with him but his willingness to work naturally went where toil was respected and well paid.

Some people disliked the foreigners who were coming here in such large numbers in the early fifties and feared that they were a menace to American liberty. Such men formed the "American Party," a secret political society which sought to prevent foreigners from being too speedily naturalized and to elect only native Americans to office. Because the members of this party said "I don't know," when asked anything about their purposes or plans, they were called the "Know Nothings." The fears of the "Know Nothings" were groundless, and although they cast a large vote in one or two elections their

The "Know
Nothing"
party

party quickly disappeared. There is no place for a secret political society in a free country.

The develop-
ment of
industry

Our growth in industry during the decade following the Compromise of 1850 was even more marked than the increase of our population. Farming was still the leading occupation of our people. The pioneers who were rapidly bringing the fertile land of the upper Mississippi valley under the plow were raising large and ever-increasing crops of corn and wheat. The cotton planters of the Southwest were doing even better than the farmers of the Northwest. The cotton crop of the South more than doubled between 1850 and 1860. In the meantime our manufactures were growing faster than our



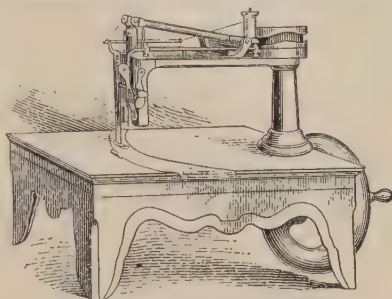
From Underwood & Underwood, New York.
A Big Corn Crop in the Mississippi Valley

agriculture. The mining of coal and iron was steadily increasing. During every year of the fifties our gold miners poured \$55,000,000 into the world's supply of that precious metal. In 1859 the first productive oil well was bored in Pennsylvania. This marks the beginning of the great petroleum industry in the United States.

New labor-
saving
machinery

The amazing growth of industry in our country about the middle of the nineteenth century would not have been possible without the constant invention of new labor-saving machinery. More than twenty thousand new inventions were patented between 1850 and 1860 alone. The increased use of grain drills, mowers, reapers, horse-rakes, and threshing-machines enabled the farmers to cultivate more acres and grow larger crops. Even more marked was the wider use of planers, steam

hammers, and a great variety of other new or improved machines in manufacturing. Among the more notable inventions just coming into use were Elias Howe's sewing-machine, which relieved women from much of the drudgery of sewing and soon began to be used in factories in the making of clothing and of all kinds of leather goods; Richard M. Hoe's revolving printing-press, with which newspapers and books could be made in larger quantities and at less cost than ever before; and Charles Goodyear's process for vulcanizing rubber, which made possible its use for waterproof shoes and clothing.



An Early Sewing Machine



Courtesy of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.
Goodyear Discovers the Process of Vulcanizing Rubber

The development of the means of transportation was keeping pace with the growth of agriculture and of manufacturing. The United States had more seagoing craft—swift clipper ships and ocean steamships—between 1850 and 1860 than at any other time in its history prior to its entrance into the Great War in 1917. During the same period twenty thousand miles of new railroad was built. The first short lines built to

Changes in transportation and their influence

carry goods to the canals and rivers, but during this decade great trunk lines were completed from the upper Mississippi

valley to the seaports on the Atlantic coast and much of the trade that once went down the Mississippi to New Orleans now began to follow the railroads to New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. This weakened the ties which had connected the Middle West with the South and helped to bind the East and the West more firmly together.

Progress in
humanity,
education,
and
literature

The progress of our country in the fifties was not limited to industry and commerce. In fact, advancement was even more conspicuous in what we may call the higher life of the people. Orphan children, the aged poor, the insane, and the inmates of the prisons were better cared for than ever before. In the northern states, public schools for the education of the children of all the people were well established by 1860. Congress had made large grants of land to the new states in the West to help them support free schools. In the South the public school system was not so well developed, but there were many good academies and colleges in that section. The ten years immediately preceding the Civil War have been well called the "golden age" of American literature. At that time Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, Hawthorne, and Emerson were doing their best work.

REFERENCES.

Garrison, *Westward Extension*; Smith, *Parties and Slavery*; Burgess, *The Middle Period*; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*; Schouler, *History of the United States*, Vol. V; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VIII; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. I; Siebert, *History of the Underground Railroad*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Election of 1848. Garrison, *Westward Extension*, 269-284.
2. The Slavery Issue in 1849. Garrison, *Westward Extension*, 294-314.
3. Clay, the Compromiser. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 120-127.
4. Calhoun's Last Speech. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 127-130.
5. Webster and His Seventh of March Speech. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 137-161.
6. Seward Opposes the Compromise. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 162-168.

7. The Fugitive Slave Law. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VIII, 44-48.
8. On the Underground Railroad. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 80-83.
9. The Story of the Christiana Riot. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 84-87.
10. The Death of Uncle Tom. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 62-65.
11. The Era of Railroad Building. Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, 59-74.
12. Improvements in Agriculture. Thompson, *History of the United States*, 216-225.
13. Important Agricultural Crops. Thompson, *History of the United States*, 226-229.
14. The Merchant Marine. Thompson, *History of the United States*, 236-239.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Longfellow, Lowell, and Whittier wrote antislavery poems during this period. Find as many of them as you can.

Stories: Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; Kelly, *Rhoda of the Undergrounds*; Trowbridge, *Cudjo's Cave*; Adams, *The Sable Cloud*; Hungerford, *The Old Plantation*; Ingraham, *The Sunny South*.

Biographies: Schurz, *Henry Clay*; Von Holst, *John C. Calhoun*; Lodge, *Daniel Webster*; Lothrop, *William H. Seward*; McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*; Hart, *Salmon P. Chase*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. Trace upon a map the line of 36° 30' across the continent to the Pacific. How much of California is north of this line?
2. What evidence do you find in this chapter that the Union was in danger in 1850?
3. If you had been living in 1850 would you have favored or opposed the compromise of that year? Which section really gained more by this compromise?
4. Was it wrong to disobey the fugitive slave law? Give reasons for your answer.
5. Have you any ancestors who came from either Ireland or Germany about 1850? If so, why did they come to America?
6. What was the first through line of railroad to connect the East and the Middle West? What important railroads connect those sections now?

CHAPTER XX

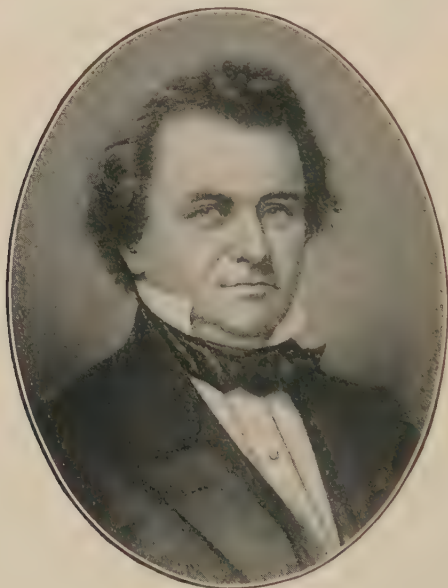
SLAVERY DIVIDES THE UNION

The Quarrel Over Slavery Renewed.—In less than four years after the statesmen of the country declared that they had finally settled the slavery controversy by the Compromise of 1850 the quarrel over slavery in the territories blazed up even more fiercely than before. The rich corn and wheat

lands west of Missouri and Iowa were beginning to attract settlers, and it became necessary to organize territorial governments in the vast expanse of Indian country. Accordingly, early in 1854 Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, introduced into the Senate a bill to create the territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

Both Kansas and Nebraska were north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, in a region from which slavery had been excluded by the Missouri Compromise. Great therefore was the surprise

and greater still the wrath of the people of the North when they learned that the Kansas-Nebraska bill proposed the repeal of the Compromise of 1820 and left it to the settlers in Kansas and Nebraska to decide whether these territories should grow into free states or slave states. Senator Douglas said that the right of the people of a territory to make their own



Stephen A. Douglas

Douglas
reopens the
slavery
controversy

Why
Douglas took
this step

laws about slavery had been recognized in the Compromise of 1850. Douglas was ambitious to get the Democratic nomination for the presidency in the next election, and with that end in view he was eager to win the favor of the Democrats in both sections of the country. He knew that the slaveholders in the South wanted more slave territory. They were so anxious to buy Cuba at this time that some of them went so far as to declare that it would be right for the United States to take that island by force if Spain persisted in refusing to sell it to us. Under these circumstances Douglas hoped that he would gain favor in the South by opening new territory in the West to slaveholding settlers, and he thought that the Democrats in the North could not seriously object to his doctrine of "popular sovereignty," because that simply meant letting the people of a territory manage their own government in their own way.

The antislavery men in Congress opposed the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill with all their might. They showed that it would open all the unorganized territory of the country to slavery and called it a bold scheme against American liberty. Senator Chase of Ohio, who led the free soil men, appealed to the Senate to defeat the hated bill because it was "a violation of the plighted faith and solemn compact which our fathers made, and which we, their sons, are bound by every sacred tie of obligation sacredly to maintain." But in spite of everything that the friends of freedom could do, Douglas persuaded Congress to pass his measure and it became a law in 1854.

The passage
of the
Kansas-
Nebraska
bill

Judged by its consequences the Kansas-Nebraska Act was one of the most important laws in our history. It stirred up strife between the North and the South as nothing else ever did. The slaveholders were delighted with it. The antislavery men were indignant that slave labor was given an opportunity to compete with free labor on the prairies of the West. The Kansas-Nebraska Act led to civil strife in Kansas, destroyed the Whig party, created the Republican party, and in the end brought about the downfall of the Democrats. Its passage in 1854 marks the beginning of seven years of bitter sectional strife which led straight to the outbreak of a great Civil War between the North and the South in 1861.

The conse-
quences of
this act

The Struggle for Kansas.—The first effect of the passage

of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was to transfer the quarrel over slavery from the halls of Congress to the plains of Kansas. As the people in that territory were to decide the slavery question for themselves it was clear that the section which sent the most settlers to Kansas would win the state. The race for its possession began as soon as the act was passed. At first the South was confident of victory in this race. Kansas lay directly west of the slave state of Missouri, and many Missourians promptly moved into it. At the same time a multitude of free soil men from the North poured into the new territory. An

Both
sections
send
settlers to
Kansas



The Rush into Kansas to Vote

Emigrant Aid Society was formed in New England to encourage free state people to go to Kansas and to supply them with money to help them on their way.

Rival
govern-
ments in
that
territory

Under these circumstances a clash between the rival factions in Kansas was sure to come. When the first election was held hundreds of armed men from Missouri came into Kansas, seized the voting places, and elected a legislature which promptly passed laws to establish and protect slavery in the territory. The settlers from the free states refused to recognize a government which had been set up by violence and fraud, and presently they held a meeting of their own, drew up a constitution forbidding slavery, and asked Congress to admit



Kansas into the Union as a free state. There were thus two rival governments in Kansas each claiming to be the rightful one.

The bitter feeling between the slave state and the free state pioneers in Kansas led to frequent brawls and shooting affrays between them, and soon they were practically at war with each other. Both sides were guilty of robbery and murder. On one occasion the pro-slavery party plundered and burned the free soil town of Lawrence. In retaliation for this act John Brown, a fanatical antislavery man, and his followers murdered in cold blood five pro-slavery settlers. These lawless acts led to a fierce outburst of guerrilla fighting in which bands of armed men from both factions roamed over the country burning houses and destroying crops. This civil strife in Kansas lasted until nearly two hundred lives were lost. In the end the antislavery men won and made Kansas a free state, but its admission into the Union was delayed until 1861.

**Civil strife
in Kansas**

In the meantime the struggle for Kansas was causing the quarrel over slavery to rage more fiercely than ever in Congress. Many northern members were eager to admit Kansas as a free state. The representatives of the South were determined that, if admitted at all, Kansas should be brought into the Union as a slave state. In 1856 Charles Sumner, a radical free soil senator from Massachusetts, made a speech on "The Crime against Kansas" in which he attacked the South in the most abusive and insulting language. The southern members were wild with fury. Two days later Preston S. Brooks, a representative from South Carolina, assaulted Sumner with a cane as he sat at his desk in the Senate chamber and beat him into insensibility. The people of the South declared that Brooks had given Sumner only what he deserved. To the antislavery men of the North the assault upon Sumner seemed an act of the basest cowardice.

**The assault
upon
Sumner**

The struggle for Kansas and the controversy in Congress which grew out of it did much to increase the growing discord between the slaveholding and the free state sections of the Union. The North and the South were steadily becoming unduly suspicious of each other. The people of the North were coming to think that the purpose of the South was to introduce slavery into all the territories. On the other hand, the men of the South were becoming convinced that the real intention of

**Growing
discord
between the
sections**

the North was to destroy slavery everywhere in the nation. Each side resolved that the other should not accomplish its purpose.

A new party
organized

The Beginning of the Republican Party.—The formation of the Republican party was a direct result of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. A majority of the southern Whigs and nearly all the Democrats from that section favored the passage of this law. All the northern Whigs and many northern Democrats voted against it. It was clear that both of the great political parties of the time were hopelessly divided upon the question of slavery. But the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the organization of Kansas and Nebraska upon the basis of popular sovereignty made the extension of slavery into the territories the burning question of the hour. Many men in the free states felt the need of a new party to oppose the further spread of slavery, and promptly took steps to form one. A convention held "under the oaks" at Jackson, Michigan, named the new party Republican. Similar meetings in other western states approved this name, denounced slavery as a moral, social, and political evil, and declared that Congress ought to shut it out of all the territories of the United States. Within a year the young Republican party grew into a vigorous and aggressive organization.

All anti-
slavery men
united in the
new party

The new party enlisted in its ranks all the Free Soilers, many northern Democrats, and sooner or later nearly all the northern Whigs. It thus fused into one body all the anti-slavery elements in the country. The early Republican leaders well represented the various groups which united to form their party. Sumner came from the Free Soilers, Chase had been a Democrat, while Seward and Lincoln were old-time Whigs. It is to be remembered that this new party was sectional. With the exception of a very few in border states like Delaware and Maryland, there were no Republicans in the South. The Whig party soon disappeared. Many of its southern members joined the Democrats, whose party was now the only one with members in both sections of the country.

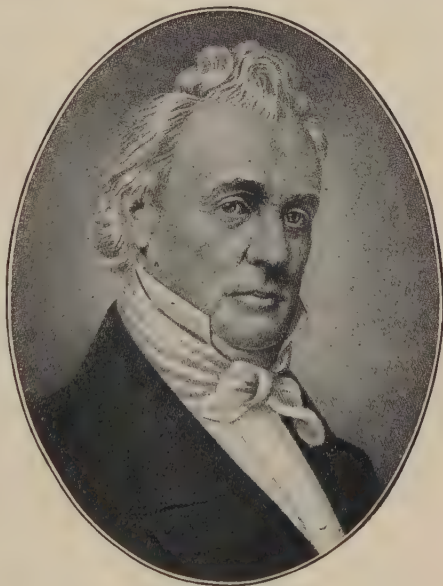
The election
of 1856

The Republican party waged its first presidential campaign in 1856. In that campaign the Republicans demanded the exclusion of slavery from the territories and nominated John C. Frémont for the presidency. Frémont was called the

"Pathfinder" because of his splendid service in exploring the mountains of the far West. The Democrats approved the Kansas-Nebraska Act and named James Buchanan of Pennsylvania as their candidate. The Know Nothings nominated Millard Fillmore. As we have seen, their party was formed to oppose foreign influence in American life, but it was now largely made up of men who were unwilling to take sides on the question of slavery. After a spirited contest the Republicans carried all but four of the northern states, but these states with a nearly solid South were enough to give victory to the Democrats and made Buchanan president of the United States.

The Dred Scott Decision.—Two days after Buchanan's inauguration in 1857 the Supreme Court gave its decision in the famous "Dred Scott" case. Dred Scott was a negro slave in Missouri. His owner, who was an army surgeon, had taken him to the free state of Illinois and some time

later to a fort in the territory of Minnesota, a region in which slavery had been prohibited by the Missouri Compromise. After two years' residence in this free territory Dred's master had brought him back to the slave state of Missouri. Several years later Dred Scott became dissatisfied with his treatment as a slave and sued for his freedom on the ground that living upon free soil had made him a free man. The lower Missouri court in which the suit was first tried decided in Dred's favor, but the case was appealed from court to court until at last it reached the Supreme Court of the United States for final decision.



James Buchanan

The story of
Dred Scott

The Dred Scott decision opened all the territories to slavery

The Supreme Court decided that a negro could not be a citizen of the United States and consequently could not bring a law suit in its courts. This disposed of the case as far as Dred Scott was concerned. But the court went on to say that the facts relied upon by Dred Scott to win his freedom had no value because Congress had no power to exclude slavery from the territories. This meant that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had always been an unconstitutional law and hence without effect. The Dred Scott decision made it very clear that negroes had only such rights as white men were willing to give them and that slavery could not lawfully be kept out of any territory of the United States.

The effect of this famous decision

The American people have always held their Supreme Court in the highest esteem, and its decision in the Dred Scott case was accordingly received with high glee by the men of the South. "Are you going to respect and obey the decision of our highest court?" they tauntingly asked the Republicans, who had just banded together to do the very thing which the Supreme Court in this decision said that Congress could not do, namely, to exclude slavery from the territories. The Republicans soon made it plain that they did not respect the decision and that they did not intend to let it control their political conduct. Their attitude was best expressed by Abraham Lincoln, who was soon to be their greatest leader, when he said, "We offer no resistance to the Dred Scott decision, but we think it is erroneous and we shall do what we can to have it overruled." The chief effect of the Dred Scott decision in the North was to harden the determination of the anti-slavery men to do everything in their power to stop the spread of slavery. Instead of finally settling the controversy over slavery in the territories, as President Buchanan had said it would, the Dred Scott decision only widened the growing breach between the North and the South.

The challenge

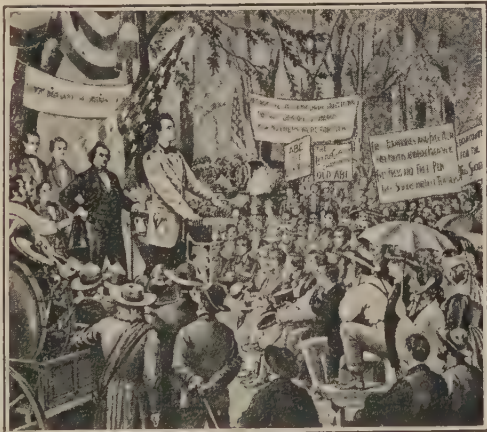
The Debate between Lincoln and Douglas.—In 1858 Stephen A. Douglas, the author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the leader of the northern Democrats who believed in letting the people of each territory settle the question of slavery for themselves, was the candidate of his party for reelection to the Senate from Illinois. Abraham Lincoln, a great Illinois lawyer who had risen from an early life of extreme poverty on

the frontier, was selected by the Republicans of his state to run against Douglas. Early in the campaign Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of debates throughout the state upon the burning question of the hour. The challenge was promptly accepted, and the debate which followed has been called "the most momentous speaking duel ever fought upon our continent." It was destined to have a far-reaching influence upon the nation's history.

It would be hard to find two men more unlike than the rivals in this great contest. "The Little Giant," as the followers of Douglas called him, was a short, broad-shouldered man of tremendous force as a speaker. He was quick to see the point of an argument, ready with a terse and vigorous answer, and wonderfully skilled in making the worse appear the better reason. At first sight the tall, gaunt, and awkward Lincoln seemed no match for the brilliant Douglas, but

he proved to be quite his equal in clear and convincing speech and far superior in honest and sincere thought. It has been finely said of Lincoln that "he did not seek to say merely the thing which was best for the day's debate, but the thing which would stand the test of time and square itself with eternal justice."

There is no better way to understand what the men of the North thought upon the question of slavery less than three years before the outbreak of the Civil War than to listen to Lincoln and Douglas in this famous debate. They speak not for themselves alone but for the Republicans and Democrats of the northern states.



A Lincoln-Douglas Debate

The debaters contrasted

The
great issue

Lincoln.—"A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

Douglas.—"In my opinion our government can endure forever, divided into free and slave states as our fathers made it—each state having the right to prohibit, abolish, or sustain slavery, just as it pleases. The Union was established on the right of each state to do as it pleased on the question of slavery, and every other question, and the various states were not allowed to complain of, much less interfere with, the policy of their neighbors."

Lincoln.—"I insist that our fathers did not make this nation half slave and half free, or part slave and part free. I insist that they found the institution of slavery existing here. They did not make it so, but they left it so because they knew of no way to get rid of it at that time. When the fathers of the government cut off the source of slavery by the abolition of the slave trade, and adopted a system of restricting it from the new territories where it had not existed, I maintain that they placed it where they understood, and all sensible men understood, it was in the course of ultimate extinction; and when Judge Douglas asks me why it cannot continue as our fathers made it, I ask him why he and his friends could not let it remain as our fathers made it?"

Slavery in
the terri-
tories

In the debate at Freeport, in reply to a question from Douglas, Lincoln said, "I am pledged to a belief in the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States territories." He then asked Douglas the following question: "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?"

Douglas.—"In my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution. Slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. If the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to the local legislature who will, by un-

friendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst."

Lincoln.—"I have always hated slavery, I think, as much as any abolitionist. I contemplate slavery as a moral, social, and political evil, and desire a policy that looks to the prevention of it as a wrong, and looks hopefully to the time when, as a wrong, it may come to an end."

Attitude toward slavery

Douglas.—"It is none of our business whether slavery exists in Missouri or not. I do not discuss the morals of the people of the slaveholding states. It is for them to decide the moral and religious right of the slavery question for themselves within their own limits. I do not believe that the Almighty ever intended the negro to be the equal of the white man. He belongs to an inferior race and must always occupy an inferior position. I do not hold that because the negro is our inferior therefore he ought to be a slave. The negro should have every right consistent with the safety of the society in which he lives. What rights are consistent with the public good? This is a question which each state or each territory must decide for itself."

Lincoln.—"There is a physical difference between the white and black races which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon a footing of perfect equality. But there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is not my equal in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowments. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man."

The rights of the negro

This debate between Lincoln and Douglas marks an epoch in the history of American politics. Douglas won the election and returned to the Senate stronger than ever with the Democrats of the North. But he lost the support of the South when he answered Lincoln's question at Freeport. The slaveholders believed that it was the duty of Congress to protect slavery in the territories, and the popular sovereignty idea urged by Douglas was becoming almost as distasteful to them as the Republican hostility to slavery extension. Without the support of the South Douglas could never be president.

The importance of this debate

Lincoln was sorely disappointed by his defeat. With his quaint wit he said that he felt "like the boy that stumped his toe—it hurt too bad to laugh, and he was too big to cry." But out of this seeming defeat came Lincoln's real triumph. His debate with Douglas won him the leadership of the Republican party and made possible his nomination and election to the presidency two years later.



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pennsylvania.
John Brown's Fort, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia

The story of
the raid

John Brown's Raid at Harper's Ferry.—In October, 1859, the country was startled by the report that the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, had been captured by a band of men who sought to incite an uprising of the slaves. In a day or two the news came that the attempt had failed, and that nearly all the men engaged in it had been killed or captured. John Brown, the ruthless antislavery fighter whom we have met in Kansas, was the leader in this harebrained plot. Brown was a stern old Puritan who had dreamed for years of liberating the slaves. It seems to have been his plan to seize

the arsenal in order to secure arms, and then to free the slaves in the neighborhood and take them to some stronghold in the near-by mountains from which raids could be made to rescue more slaves. He seized the arsenal without opposition and made prisoners of some of the citizens of the vicinity, but the people quickly rallied, the militia was called out, and in a few hours Brown was besieged in the building which he had taken. The next morning a company of marines broke in the door and captured Brown and his few surviving followers. He was promptly tried, convicted of murder and treason against Virginia, and hanged.

In the North there was every shade of opinion about the raid at Harper's Ferry. Many agreed with Douglas, who called Brown "A notorious man who had recently suffered death for his crimes." To the abolitionists, on the other hand, John Brown was a hero and a martyr. Emerson called him a romantic character living to ideal ends. Garrison declared that "John Brown is as deserving of high-wrought eulogy as any man who ever wielded sword or battle-ax in the cause of liberty." Most of the antislavery men in the North thought Brown's act ill-advised and foolish, but they sympathized with his spirit and could not help admiring the fortitude with which he met his fate. Horace Greeley, the editor of the New York *Tribune*, the most influential Republican paper in the country, wrote of Brown and his men, "They dared and died for what they believed to be right, though in a manner which seems to us fatally wrong." Perhaps the good Quaker poet, Whittier, best expressed this feeling about John Brown in these lines:

"Perish with him the folly that seeks through evil good!
 Long live the generous purpose unstained with human blood!
 Not the raid of midnight terror, but the thought which underlies;
 Not the borderer's pride of daring, but the Christian's sacrifice."

The people of the South heard of the raid at Harper's Ferry with horror and burning indignation. John Brown has "whetted knives of butchery for our mothers, sisters, daughters, and babes," said the governor of Virginia. Jefferson Davis called Brown's act, "The invasion of a state by a murderous gang of abolitionists who came to incite slaves to murder helpless women and children." The northern approval of

Northern
 opinion of
 John Brown

The anger of
 the South

Brown's conduct further enraged the South. Many southern men who had not favored secession in the past now began to question whether it was possible for the people of their section to live much longer with safety in the Union. Such was the state of mind in which our people came to the most fateful presidential election in their history.

The growth
of disunion

The Election of 1860.—"Disunion," Calhoun had once declared, "must be the work of time. The cords which bind the states together in one common Union are too numerous and too powerful to be broken by a single blow." By 1860 the long-continued agitation of the slavery question had snapped most of these cords and weakened all the rest. It had divided nearly all the churches into northern and southern branches. It had swept away all national political parties except the Democratic, and at last the time had come when that party too was to split upon the rock of slavery.

Slavery
splits the
Democratic
party

The Democratic National Convention of 1860 met in Charleston, South Carolina, the hotbed of disunion. The northern members of this convention stood squarely by the doctrine of popular sovereignty, but said that they were willing to abide by the Dred Scott decision. The men from the South wanted the convention to declare that no territorial legislature could take away from any citizen of the United States the right to take his slaves into that territory. They also demanded that Congress protect slave property in all the territories. In other words, the southern Democrats asked the northern Democrats to say that slavery was right and ought to be extended. When the northern men answered firmly, "We will not do it," the delegates from several of the southern states withdrew from the hall. Both factions held later meetings, at which the northern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois for the presidency and the southern Democrats named John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as their candidate.

The Consti-
tutional
Union Party

In the meantime a large body of citizens, who hesitated to take sides on the question of slavery and who wanted to cry peace, peace, when there was no peace, organized the Constitutional Union Party. They declared that they stood for "the Constitution of the country, the Union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws," and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for the presidency.

The Republican Convention met in Chicago in a great "Wigwam" which held ten thousand spectators. In emphatic language this convention denied "the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature or of any individual, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States." William H. Seward and Abraham Lincoln were the leading candidates for the Republican presidential nomination, and after a spirited contest, Lincoln was chosen on the third ballot. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was nominated for the vice-presidency.

The
nomination
of Lincoln

There were thus four political parties contending for the presidency in 1860. Each of them had stated its position upon the great issue of the time in the plainest terms. The Republicans said that slavery must be excluded from the territories. The southern Democrats were equally positive in declaring that Congress must protect it in them. The northern Democrats wanted to let the settlers in each territory decide the matter for themselves. The men who voted the Constitutional Union ticket dodged the question altogether.

Party
positions
upon slavery
in the terri-
tories

The Republicans carried on their campaign in 1860 with great enthusiasm. They organized marching clubs, called "Wide-awakes," whose members carried torches in great Lincoln demonstrations. Lincoln's early frontier occupation of rail-splitter was glorified, and men carried fence rails in every procession. The cotton states threatened to secede if Lincoln were elected, but the Republicans refused to be frightened by these threats. They felt that they were fighting the good fight for human freedom, and they knew that the split in the Democratic party brought victory within their grasp. The result on election day proved that their confidence was well founded. While the combined popular vote for the other candidates exceeded his by nearly a million, Lincoln received more electoral votes than all of them and was elected.

Lincoln
elected

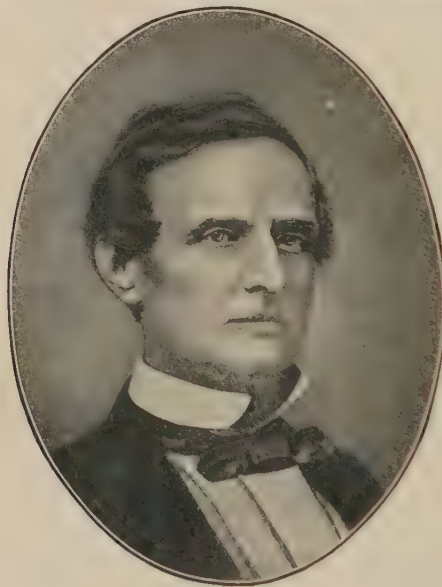
The Coming of Disunion.—The free North had spoken in the election of Lincoln. It declared that there must be no more slave territories and hence no more slave states. The answer of the South came promptly. The southern threats of secession in the event of Lincoln's election were not mere idle words. As soon as the result of the election was known, South Carolina called a state convention. On December 20, 1860,

South
Carolina
secedes

this convention passed an ordinance of secession declaring that "the union hitherto existing between South Carolina and the other states is hereby dissolved." Disunion, so long threatened, had come at last.

The cotton-growing states of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas promptly followed where South Carolina led the way. These states quickly seceded from the Union and then sent representatives to Montgomery,

The Confederate States of America



Jefferson Davis
President of the Confederate States.

Alabama, to form a new confederacy. The constitution of the Confederate States of America, as the new union was called, was similar in most respects to the Constitution of the United States, but it safeguarded negro slavery and forbade the passage of protective tariff laws. Jefferson Davis was chosen president of the Confederate States, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia was made vice-president.

While the seven cotton states were leaving the Union and forming a new nation, the rest

A time of hesitation

of the country was hesitating between two opinions. The people in the remaining slave states loved the Union, but most of them loved their own states more and had been taught to believe that the highest duty of the citizen was to stand by his own state. Some northern men like Horace Greeley, the editor of the New York *Tribune*, were willing to let the seceding states go in peace. But most people in the North had learned to believe with Webster in a Union, "one and inseparable." They felt that all men must be loyal first of all to the United States, afterward to their own states. To men who cherished this

strong national sentiment, secession was treason, and the people of the seceding states were in rebellion against the government of their country. President Buchanan denied that a state had a right to secede, but declared that if it did he had no authority to compel it to stay in the Union against its will. Many Union-loving men were disgusted with Buchanan's weak attitude and often said, "O, for one hour of Andrew Jackson!"

Congress spent much time during this winter of hesitation in discussing various plans for a compromise. Moderate men in both sections believed that the Union had been saved by compromise in 1850 and hoped this might be true again. But neither the ardent secessionists on the one hand nor the triumphant Republicans on the other were in any mood to yield anything, and all the efforts to compromise came to nothing. On March 4, 1861, Lincoln became president of a divided country.

Last efforts
to compro-
mise fail

REFERENCES.

Wilson, *Division and Reunion*; Burgess, *The Middle Period*; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vols. I-II; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VIII; Schouler, *History of the United States*, Vol. V; Smith, *Parties and Slavery*; Chadwick, *The Causes of the Civil War*; Spring, *Kansas*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Old Leaders and the New. Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, 40-58.
2. A Debate on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 444-452.
3. Emigration to Kansas. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 104-114.
4. Civil War in Kansas. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 114-118.
5. The Beginning of the Republican Party. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 45-50.
6. "The Crime against Kansas." Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 131-141.
7. The Dred Scott Decision. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 126-131.
8. The Debates between Lincoln and Douglas. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VIII, 325-337.
9. John Brown's Raid at Harper's Ferry. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 384-435.

10. Why John Brown Broke the Laws. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 147-150.

11. The Election of 1860. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 440-502.

12. The Right and Wrong of Secession. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 169-178.

13. The Last Effort at Compromise. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 204-210.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Whittier, *The Kansas Emigrants*; Brown of Osawatomie; Stedman, *How Old Brown Took Harper's Ferry*; Holmes, *Brother Jonathan's Lament for Sister Caroline*.

Novels: Tourgee, *Hot Plowshares*; Eggleston, *Dorothy South*; *Two Gentlemen of Virginia*; Conway, *Pine and Palm*; Dupuy, *The Planter's Daughter*; Harris, *Free Joe*.

Reminiscences: Clayton, *Black and White under the Old Regime*; Pryor, *Reminiscences of Peace and War*; Wise, *The End of an Era*.

Biographies: Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas*; Morse, *Abraham Lincoln*; Storey, *Charles Sumner*; Villard, *John Brown*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. What is meant by "popular sovereignty"? Was it a wise plan for settling the question of slavery in the territories? Why?

2. What is your opinion of the assault upon Sumner?

3. Who was chief justice of the Supreme Court at the time of the Dred Scott decision? Who is chief justice now? How did the Dred Scott decision help to widen the breach between the sections?

4. What did Lincoln mean by "A house divided against itself cannot stand"?

5. Judging by the extracts from their speeches in this chapter, was Lincoln or Douglas the better debater? Give reasons for your opinion. What was the "Freeport Question"? Why did Douglas lose the support of the South when he answered this question?

6. Do you admire John Brown? Why? How would you have voted in 1860? Why?

7. What did men mean when they said, during the winter of 1860-61, "O, for one hour of Andrew Jackson"?

8. Make a list of all the events which helped to widen the breach between the North and the South, mentioned in this chapter. What were the real causes of secession?

CHAPTER XXI

THE CIVIL WAR

The North and the South at War.—In his inaugural address President Lincoln declared that “no state upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union”; and added, “I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states.” Lincoln closed this noble address with a touching appeal for peace. “We are not enemies,” he said, “but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained,

Lincoln's
appeal for
peace



Fort Sumter

“The attack on Fort Sumter roused and united the North like a bugle call.”

it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.”

But the Confederate leaders were in no mood to listen to this appeal. It was evident that any attempt to enforce the laws of the United States in the seceded states would mean war. The first blow was struck at Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor. The Confederacy was eager to possess the forts and

The attack
upon Fort
Sumter

other property of the United States within its borders. It occupied some of them, but Fort Sumter was still held by United States troops under Major Robert Anderson. It was known that Major Anderson could not hold out much longer without supplies. When they heard that the government at Washington was sending these supplies the Confederates opened fire on Fort Sumter. For thirty-four hours a hail of shot and shell fell upon the doomed stronghold. With the fort in ruins and his ammunition exhausted, Major Anderson surrendered and was permitted to withdraw with his men.

The call to
arms

The attack on Fort Sumter roused and united the North like a bugle call. On April 15th Lincoln asked for seventy-five thousand men to maintain the Union. It would have been quite as easy to enlist several times that number. Soon the land was filled with the sound of preparation for war. The call of President Davis for one hundred thousand volunteers to defend the South met the same eager response. Compelled to choose between fighting for or against their southern neighbors, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas quickly seceded and joined the Confederacy. The southern capital was then moved from Montgomery to Richmond.

The border
states are
kept in the
Union

The border slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri halted between two opinions. Delaware's business relations were chiefly with the North and she had little inclination to leave the Union. Eastern Maryland, like Virginia in its life and industry, sympathized with the South, but the western part of that state, like Pennsylvania in its physical geography, had no desire to secede. As Maryland was early occupied by Union troops hurrying to the defense of Washington she had no opportunity to withdraw from the Union even if a majority of her people had favored such a course. The western counties of Virginia were far more like the neighboring section of Ohio than they were like Virginia east of the mountains, and their people refused to follow the rest of the Virginians into the Confederacy. During the summer of 1861 the Confederates were driven from this region by Union forces under General McClellan, and two years later it was made the state of West Virginia. Eastern Kentucky, with its rugged country, small farms, and few slaves, was loyal to the Union. Western Kentucky with its tobacco plantations worked by slave labor,

inclined toward the Confederacy. In the end a majority of the Kentuckians decided against secession. Missouri was also divided in sentiment and both factions took up arms. After some hard fighting, the Union element prevailed and drove the Confederate forces from the state. While the border states were thus all held in the Union, it must not be overlooked that many of their citizens served in the southern armies.

Neither side was prepared for war in 1861, but the North possessed certain marked advantages over the South. There were four times as many white men in the states that were loyal to the Union as in those that formed the Confederacy. The South was largely dependent upon agriculture, and the prosperity of its agriculture was chiefly due to the cotton crop. It possessed few mills and factories and imported nearly all its manufactured goods from the North or from Europe. The North was rich in corn, wheat, coal, and iron. It possessed a highly developed industrial life. It was a land of farms, mills, and factories; and it numbered among its inhabitants a multitude of skilled workmen.

The North had more and better railroads than the South and was in control of nearly all the shipping of the nation. These advantages of the North were offset in some measure by the facts that the larger part of the men of the South were accustomed to the use of firearms and to living an outdoor life, and that they were fighting near home upon ground with which they were familiar. The fact that the work of the South was done by slaves enabled the Confederacy to put nearly all its white men of military age into the army, while in the North large numbers of men must stay at home to work the farms, mines, and factories. But where both sides were

The North
and the
South
compared



The Flag of the Confederacy

equal in courage and in patriotic devotion, the larger numbers and greater resources of the North were sure to win in the end.

The blockade **The Work of the Navy.**—The southern leaders knew that their section produced the bulk of the world's supply of cotton. They hoped to exchange their cotton in Europe for the military stores which they could not make at home. It was of vital importance to the cause of the Union to prevent this trade. When the war began, President Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the coast of the Confederacy and used the navy to enforce it. Day and night for four years the blockading vessels watched the southern harbors to prevent any ship from entering or leaving them. At first it was impossible to stop all traffic, and occasionally a swift blockade runner would escape with a cargo of cotton or run into a southern port with a load of sorely needed supplies. But as time passed and more ships were added to the navy, it became increasingly difficult to enter or to leave the southern states by sea. The blockade played a very important part in the ultimate downfall of the Confederacy.

The Trent affair Late in 1861 the United States was brought to the verge of war with England. When Mason and Slidell, the representatives of the Confederate States to England and France, escaped to the West Indies on a blockade runner and thence sought to make their way to Europe on the British mailship, *Trent*, they were seized by Captain Wilkes of the American warship, *San Jacinto*, and brought back to the United States. At first the North was jubilant over this act. Great Britain was indignant. She demanded the return of Mason and Slidell and began to prepare for war. President Lincoln said that the searching of our ships was one of the causes of the War of 1812, and that we must not do unto others what we would not have them do to us. The Confederate agents were given up and war with Great Britain was averted.

The attitude of England Throughout our Civil War there was much sympathy for the South in England, especially among the upper classes and the manufacturers and merchants who needed cotton and hoped for a good market for English goods in the Confederacy. But when the common people of Great Britain saw clearly that the South fought to preserve slavery, they wished the North to win.

Early in 1862 the South tried to break the blockade of her ports by building an ironclad vessel to destroy the wooden

ships of the blockading fleet. For this purpose she raised the *Merrimac*, a ship which had been sunk at Norfolk before the Confederates seized that city, covered her with a roof of iron, and armed her with heavy guns. On March 8th this dangerous craft attacked the Union fleet in Hampton Roads, sunk the *Cumberland*, and burned the *Congress*. The remaining wooden ships were in deadly peril, and men feared that the strange ironclad might even steam up the Potomac and bombard Washington.

The work
of the
Merrimac

But when the *Merrimac* returned on the following morning to finish her work of destruction she was met by the *Monitor*,



The Battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* in Hampton Roads

a new ironclad invented by John Ericsson, which had reached the scene just in time to save the Union fleet. The *Monitor* was a queer looking little craft, aptly called "a cheese box on a raft." The cheese box was really an armored revolving turret in which were two heavy guns. The little *Monitor* fought the *Merrimac* to a standstill and sent her back to Norfolk, where she was later blown up by the Confederates to prevent her capture. This fight revealed how powerless wooden warships were before the new ironclads. Soon all the great powers began to replace their old-time wooden navies with modern armored ships.

The *Monitor*
and the
Merrimac

The Confederate
cruisers

Besides blockading the Confederate ports the Union navy assisted in military operations along the southern coast and on the western rivers. It also had its work cut out for it in hunting down the swift Confederate cruisers, which inflicted great damage on the commerce of the United States. The most dangerous of these commerce destroyers was the *Alabama*, a ship built in England for the Confederacy. After an eventful career in which she destroyed nearly seventy merchant vessels the *Alabama* was at last brought to bay at Cherbourg, France, and sunk by the United States ship *Kearsarge*, in a famous fight off that port.

The military
policy of the
North

“On to Richmond!”—At Lincoln’s first call for troops the militia of the North hurried to the defense of the national capital. But the North could not win the war by merely acting on the defensive. It must invade the South and defeat its armies before it could hope to restore the Union. The Confederacy, on the other hand, had only to repel the invading armies of the Union in order to maintain its independence. These facts largely determined the nature of the war.

The
Bull Run
campaign

When summer came in 1861 the whole North rang with the cry, “On to Richmond!” In July Lincoln ordered General McDowell, who commanded the Union army at Washington, to advance on the Confederate capital. About thirty miles south of Washington, McDowell met the Confederates under General Beauregard and began the battle of Bull Run. Both sides fought bravely for several hours, but when reinforcements joined the Confederates in the afternoon, the raw northern troops suddenly became panic-stricken and fled in wild confusion back to Washington. The Confederates were almost as badly disorganized by victory as the Federals were by defeat and made little attempt to pursue their fleeing enemies. The battle of Bull Run made the South confident of final success and taught the North that it faced a long and trying war.

Both sides
prepare for a
great war

The government of the United States now began in earnest to get ready for the gigantic struggle before it. Congress voted to raise an army of half a million men, and Lincoln called General McClellan from his early successes in western Virginia to command the troops around Washington. In the meantime the southern people were also preparing for the coming contest with energy and enthusiasm. In the autumn



of 1861 the people of the North again clamored for an advance on Richmond, but McClellan, who knew the difficulty of the task before him, refused to move and spent the entire winter in organizing and drilling his army.

In the spring of 1862 McClellan was ready to begin his campaign. A glance at the map of Virginia will show that he might have tried to advance across the country from Washington toward Richmond or to take his army by sea to Fortress Monroe at the mouth of the James River and thence move up the Peninsula between the James and York rivers.

He chose the latter route because it gave him the support of the navy and made it easy to bring up his supplies by water. This plan made it necessary to leave a strong Union force under McDowell to defend Washington. Union troops under Banks and Frémont were also stationed in the Shenandoah Valley to prevent the Confederates from approaching Washington from that direction. The Confederates in front of McClellan delayed his advance as long as they could,

but he slowly made his way up the Peninsula until he was within a few miles of Richmond. Here he waited for the arrival of McDowell, who was now advancing across the country, to join him. During this delay a part of McClellan's army was attacked by the Confederates, and the bloody but indecisive battle of Seven Pines was fought. Joseph E. Johnston, the Confederate leader, was seriously wounded in this battle, and Robert E. Lee, the greatest of southern generals, henceforth commanded the Confederate army.

In the meantime "Stonewall" Jackson, another brilliant soldier of the South, was carrying on a whirlwind campaign

McClellan's
campaign
on the
Peninsula



Courtesy of the F. Gutekunst Co., Phila., Pa.
General "Stonewall" Jackson

Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley

in the Shenandoah Valley, in which he drove the Union forces back towards the Potomac and threatened Washington from Harper's Ferry. Alarmed for the safety of the Federal capital, Lincoln stopped McDowell's advance toward Richmond and sent him to the Shenandoah Valley to oppose Jackson. This



The Eastern Campaigns of the Civil War

The Seven Days' battle before Richmond

was just what Jackson wanted. Having prevented McDowell from joining McClellan, he slipped away from the Union forces closing in upon him, and hurried to rejoin Lee near Richmond. Lee then promptly attacked the Union army in front of him and in seven days of furious fighting forced it back to the James River, twenty miles below Richmond. McClellan con-

ducted this retreat with great skill and on the last day his men repulsed the Confederates with heavy loss at Malvern Hill.

The authorities in Washington now united all the Union troops in northern Virginia into one army under General Pope. They next decided to withdraw McClellan's army from the Peninsula. McClellan protested in vain against this order. Lee was quick to seize the opportunity to defeat Pope before all of McClellan's men could join him and promptly marched northward. In the campaign which followed Lee was greatly

**The second
Bull Run
campaign**



A Charge at Antietam

aided by the daring and skill of "Stonewall" Jackson. During the last days of August, 1862, Pope was disastrously defeated at the second battle of Bull Run and retreated to Washington. McClellan, with the last of his army, reached the capital about the same time.

Lee now resolved to carry the war into the North. He believed that the people of Maryland were at heart loyal to the South, and his soldiers crossed the Potomac singing, "Maryland, My Maryland." The Confederates were disappointed at their reception. The Maryland farmers did not prove quite so friendly as they expected. In the meantime McClellan was put in command of all the Union troops around Washington, and

**Lee's first
invasion of
the North
fails at
Antietam**

started in pursuit of Lee. On September 17, 1862, the two armies fought at Antietam the bloodiest single day's battle of the entire war. The Union troops were repulsed on the field, but Lee's invasion of the North was checked, and he leisurely made his way back to Virginia. McClellan failed to pursue him vigorously and was soon ordered to hand over the command of the Army of the Potomac to General Burnside.

**Burnside's
advance on
Richmond
fails at
Fredericks-
burg**

In December, 1862, Burnside led the Union army in a third advance on Richmond. He found the Confederates in a very strong position behind the Rappahannock River at Fredericksburg. Burnside built pontoon bridges across the river under fire, marched his army across them, and attempted to storm the hills on whose crests Lee had posted his men. Time after time the Union troops rushed to the charge with the utmost bravery, but every assault was beaten back with awful slaughter. At last, Burnside saw that victory was impossible and withdrew his army. Thus 1862 closed in Virginia with the Union army under the gloom of a bloody defeat.

**Hooker's
defeat at
Chancellors-
ville**

During the winter, General Hooker—"Fighting Joe" Hooker, as the soldiers called him—replaced Burnside in command of the army. Early in 1863 Hooker crossed the Rappahannock above Fredericksburg and fought a great battle at Chancellorsville in the early days of May. Again the daring of "Stonewall" Jackson helped Lee to win a splendid victory, but it was dearly paid for in the death of this peerless soldier who was shot by mistake by his own men. After the battle Hooker withdrew north of the Rappahannock. Like McDowell, McClellan, and Burnside before him, he had failed to go "On to Richmond."

**The war in
the West**

Opening the Mississippi.—The Appalachian mountain system divides the field of the Civil War into two parts, Virginia in the East, and the lower Mississippi Valley in the West. We must now see what was happening in the West while the army of the Potomac was vainly striving to capture Richmond. During the first two years of the war a large part of the Union effort west of the Alleghanies was directed toward securing control of the Mississippi River and thus cutting off Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas from the rest of the Confederacy. In 1861, as we have seen, there had been some fighting between the two factions in Missouri. Early in 1862 the Union forces in that state drove

the Confederates into Arkansas and there defeated and scattered them in the hotly contested battle of Pea Ridge.

The first Confederate line of defense in the West ran through southern Kentucky. Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland were the important points on this line, because they guarded two navigable rivers which were pathways into the heart of Tennessee. In February, 1862, General Grant led a Union army against these forts. With the help of the river gunboats under Commodore Foote he

Breaking the
first Con-
federate line
of defense



From the original drawing by J. Steeple Davis
The Attack on Fort Donelson

easily captured Fort Henry. Fort Donelson made a stouter resistance, but after a desperate battle its garrison of nearly fifteen thousand men was forced to accept Grant's terms of "unconditional surrender." This was the first serious reverse of the Confederates in the war. They now abandoned Kentucky, and the Union forces soon occupied Nashville and overran a large part of western Tennessee. This made it impossible for the Confederates to hold their upper strongholds on the Mississippi. They had built a great fortress on Island No. 10 in that river, but the Union general, Pope, captured it in April, 1862. The Federal gunboats now controlled the Mississippi from Cairo to Memphis.

**The battle of
Shiloh**

The Confederates established their second line of defense in the West along a railroad which ran from Memphis to Chattanooga and Charleston, thus connecting the East and the West. At Corinth, Mississippi, a north and south railroad crossed this east and west line. Most of the Confederate troops were gathered at Corinth to defend this important railroad junction. Grant moved his army up the Tennessee River to Pittsburg Landing, where he awaited the coming of General



Western Campaigns in the Civil War

Buell who was leading another Union force across the country from Nashville. Albert Sidney Johnston, one of the ablest Confederate generals, saw his opportunity to destroy Grant before Buell could arrive. On April 6, 1862, he struck hard at Grant's army near Shiloh. Grant's men fought stubbornly, but they were forced back and when night fell they were in a perilous position. During the night Buell's army arrived on the field and the next morning Grant renewed the fight, recovered the ground lost the previous day, and at last drove the Confederates away. Shiloh was one of the most hotly contested

fields of the whole war. Both sides lost heavily, and among the Confederate slain was Albert Sidney Johnston, their great leader.

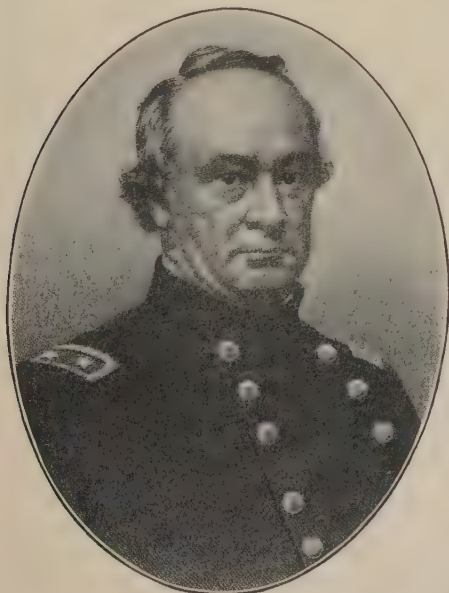
In the meantime a powerful Union fleet under David G. Farragut, the most famous sea fighter of the war, was sent against New Orleans. After bombarding the forts below that city for six days with little effect, Farragut daringly ran past them in the night, destroyed the Confederate gunboats, and proceeded up the river. New Orleans was now at his mercy, and before the end of April,



Painting by J. Steeple Davis

Death of General Albert Sidney Johnston
Confederate leader, at the Battle of Shiloh.

Farragut
captures
New Orleans



© Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

General H. W. Halleck

1862, the flag of the Union floated once more over the chief seaport and greatest cotton market of the Confederacy. The forts below New Orleans soon surrendered, and thenceforth the navy was in control of the lower Mississippi.

After the battle of Shiloh, General Halleck, in command of the united armies of Grant, Buell, and Pope, cautiously advanced upon Corinth. When Halleck was ready to assault this important strategic point, the Confederates abandoned it. After the chief railroad which

The second
Confederate
line is
broken

supplied Memphis was thus cut at Corinth, that important river port soon fell into the hands of the Union army. The second Confederate line of defense in the West was thus broken, and Vicksburg became the last remaining stronghold of the South on the Mississippi.

There was some indecisive fighting in northern Mississippi during the fall of 1862, but the more important movements of that season took place in Kentucky and middle Tennessee.

The Con-
federates
invade
Kentucky



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.
An Assault at Vicksburg, Mississippi

General Buell was ordered to regain east Tennessee, whose people had remained steadfastly loyal to the Union. Before Buell was ready to move, Confederate General Braxton Bragg invaded Kentucky with a strong force. Buell hurried northward and both armies raced for the Ohio River. Buell reached Louisville first, where he found plentiful supplies and reinforcements. He now turned upon Bragg and fought him at Perryville. After this indecisive battle the Confederates

The battle of
Murfrees-
boro

slowly retired to Chattanooga, carrying with them an enormous quantity of supplies which they had gathered from the rich fields of Kentucky. Because he failed to follow Bragg, Buell was removed from the command of the Union army and Rosecrans put in his place. On the last day of 1862 the two armies in Tennessee began a bloody three-days' contest at Murfreesboro on Stone River, but neither of them gained any decided advantage from this battle.

X After the soldiers of the Union occupied New Orleans and

Memphis the Confederates heavily fortified Vicksburg, the one strong position left them on the Mississippi. Late in 1862 Grant and his famous lieutenant, Sherman, moved against this stronghold, but all their efforts to take it that year proved futile. Early in 1863 Grant marched his army down the west bank of the Mississippi until it was south of Vicksburg. Meanwhile the Union supply boats and transports under Commodore Porter ran past the city in the night with slight loss, in spite of a terrific fire poured upon them from the batteries on

The siege
of Vicks-
burg



From the painting by J. Steeple Davis

The Surrender of Pemberton to Grant near Vicksburg

the shore. Grant now crossed the river with his army, speedily occupied Jackson, the Capital of Mississippi, and then defeated the Confederates and drove them back into Vicksburg. He then besieged that city. Day after day a rain of shot and shell was steadily poured upon the doomed town. The Confederates bravely repelled two assaults upon their defenses, but at last they were starved into submission. On July 4, 1863, Vicksburg surrendered and nearly thirty thousand Confederates became prisoners of war. A few days later the Confederates gave up Port Hudson, lower on the river, and henceforth the "Father of Waters flowed unvexed to the sea."

Lee's second
invasion of
the North

The Story of Gettysburg.—We left the opposing armies in Virginia facing each other across the Rappahannock River after the battle of Chancellorsville. Lee now determined to try once more to invade the North. His splendid army was flushed with victory, but it was daily becoming more difficult to provide it with food. Lee coveted the supplies which existed in great abundance in the North. Moreover, a decisive victory on northern soil might offset the Confederate losses in the West and end the war.

The armies
meet at
Gettysburg



Courtesy of the F. Gutknecht Co., Phila., Pa.
General Meade

Starting early in June, 1863, from Fredericksburg, Virginia, Lee's army, eighty thousand strong, marched westward through the gaps of the Blue Ridge into the valley of the Shenandoah and then swept rapidly northward across Maryland into Pennsylvania. Chambersburg and York were occupied and Harrisburg was threatened. In the meantime Hooker's army of ninety thousand men was moving northward in such a way as to keep between Lee and Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia.

Near the end of June General Meade succeeded Hooker in the command of the Union army. On July 1st the advance guard of Meade's army met the Confederates near Gettysburg and began the most famous battle ever fought in America.

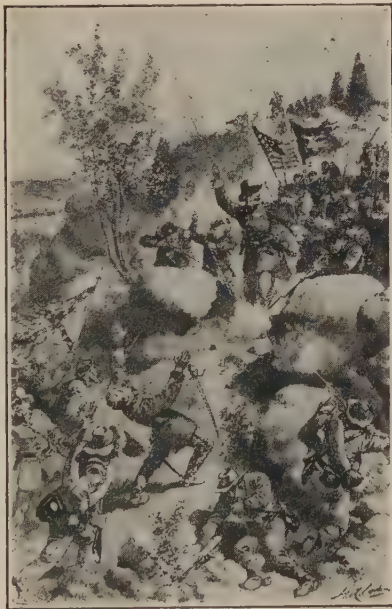
The battle-
field of
Gettysburg

In 1863 Gettysburg was a peaceful little town in southern Pennsylvania. Just west of it lies Seminary Ridge, extending toward the southwest. On its southern border rises Cemetery Hill, which is prolonged southward as Cemetery Ridge. Three miles south of Gettysburg this low ridge rises suddenly into a steep, rocky hill called Little Round Top. Just beyond is a higher hill called Round Top. Cemetery Hill curves back

toward the southeast into a rocky cliff called Culp's Hill. Between the two ridges lies a beautiful valley widening toward the south and dotted here and there with farmhouses. Many roads radiate from Gettysburg like the spokes of a wheel. Along these roads the Confederates were approaching the town from the west, the north, and the east, while the Union army was hurrying up from the south.

The battle of Gettysburg began on the morning of July 1st. For hours the fighting raged furiously west and north of the town. Because they were marching toward a common center the Confederate troops reached the battlefield sooner than the widely scattered divisions of the Union army. Late in the afternoon the superior numbers of the Confederates compelled the Union forces west and north of Gettysburg to abandon their position and withdraw to a stronger one on Cemetery Hill south of the town. Here a new battle line was formed by General Hancock, who had been sent forward to represent General Meade. Fortunately, the Confederates were content with occupying Gettysburg and did not continue their attack until the next day.

All that night Meade's men came swarming in from the southward, and by morning the Union army was in much better condition to resist an assault than it had been the previous evening. Both generals spent the morning of July 2nd in studying the field, and there was no fighting until the afternoon. During this time General Sickles, who led the Union left wing, advanced his troops to a peach orchard in the valley west of



The first day's fighting

From the original painting by H. A. Ogden
The Struggle for Little Round Top

Hard fighting on the second day

Little Round Top. This was the weak part of the Union line, and soon Longstreet, Lee's great lieutenant, struck it hard. For hours the tide of battle ebbed and flowed at the peach orchard and through the wheat field and the rock-strewn woodland behind it. At last the troops of Sickles were driven back to Cemetery Ridge, but here the line stood firm and repelled the last Confederate assault. Meanwhile there was a desperate struggle for Little Round Top, which dominated the

Federal position, but, by the utmost valor, it was held by the northern soldiers. Toward night the Confederates charged in vain up the eastern slope of Cemetery Hill. As night fell they were more fortunate in gaining a foothold on Culp's Hill, but early the next morning Meade drove them from this position. The Union army still held its strong line on the hills south of Gettysburg.

Lee had failed in his attacks on both wings of Meade's army. On July 3d he tried to break its center on Cemetery Ridge. About one o'clock in the afternoon a hundred Confederate guns opened fire upon the center of the Union line. The Fed-



The Battlefield at Gettysburg

Pickett's
famous
charge

eral guns replied, and for two hours the earth trembled under a terrific artillery duel. Then fifteen thousand men of the South, led by Pickett with his division of Virginians, charged the Union center. There was no more heroic feat of arms during the whole war. With undaunted courage Pickett's men came on in the face of a withering fire, and a handful of them under Armistead surged over the stone wall which marked the Union line. But they were too few to hold what they had won and

were soon beaten back with awful slaughter. The cause of secession here reached its high water mark and began to recede.

Two days later Lee began to withdraw and had little difficulty in regaining his old lines in Virginia, where he was not seriously disturbed during the remainder of 1863. The losses at Gettysburg were twenty-three thousand on the Union side and almost as many in the southern army. The wounded

After the battle



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

General Hancock and Staff at the Battle of Gettysburg

were tenderly cared for in the hospitals of the North. Later the bodies of the Union slain were gathered into the beautiful cemetery which Lincoln dedicated in the fall of 1863 with his immortal Gettysburg Address.

The battlefield of Gettysburg is now a splendid national park, upon which each northern regiment has marked the place where it fought. The survivors of the northern and the southern armies held a glorious reunion at this inspiring shrine of patriotism during the first three days of July, 1913, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle. This wonderful meeting made

Gettysburg
fifty years
later

The Chickamauga campaign

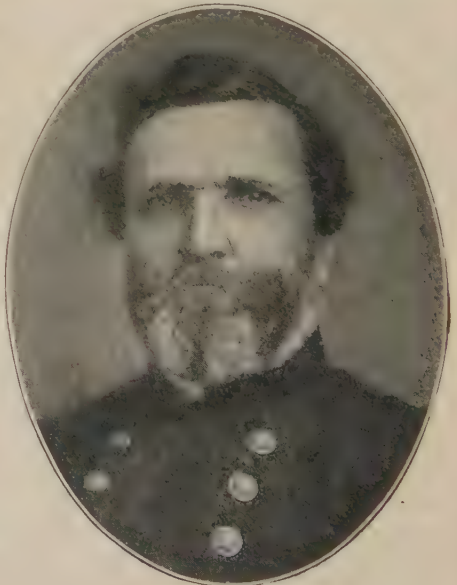


Courtesy of the F. Gutekunst Co., Phila., Pa.
General William S. Rosecrans

ern sections of the Confederacy. The capture of Chattanooga would make it difficult to send men and food from the region west of the Alleghanies to Lee's struggling army in Virginia. It would also give the Union forces a starting point from which to push deeper into the heart of the South. General Bragg defended this vital strategic point with a strong Confederate army. Rosecrans, the Union leader, skilfully manœuvred Bragg out of Chattanooga and occupied the town. On September 19 and 20, 1863, the two

it very clear that the bitterness of civil strife was gone and that the men of both sections rejoiced that Liberty and Union are, in truth, "one and inseparable."

✂ **From Chattanooga to the Sea.**—In the summer of 1863 the Union army in Tennessee, which had done little since the battle of Murfreesboro, resumed operations. Its first aim was to seize Chattanooga, a place of great importance because it commanded the railroads connecting the eastern, southern, and west-



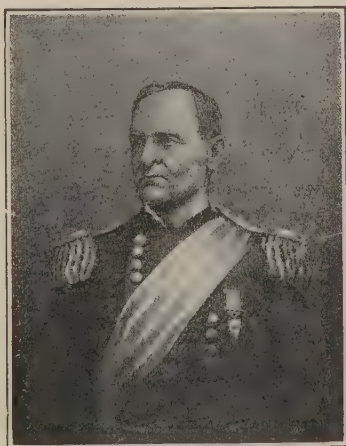
General George H. Thomas
"The Rock of Chickamauga"

armies met on the fiercely contested field of Chickamauga, twelve miles southeast of Chattanooga. On the second day of the battle a part of the Union army was swept from the field in confusion, but General Thomas with the left wing held his ground until nightfall with a steadfast valor which won for him the name, "The Rock of Chickamauga."

After the battle of Chickamauga the Union army fell back to Chattanooga, where it was quickly besieged by the Confederates. For a time its position was one of peril, but soon

The battle of
Chattanooga

Hooker and Sherman arrived with strong reinforcements, and Grant came from his triumph at Vicksburg to take command. Supplies were quickly brought up and the army prepared for another battle. On November 24th and 25th Grant won a great victory before Chattanooga. On the first day, in a battle above the clouds, Hooker drove the Confederates from Lookout Mountain south of Chattanooga, and Sherman attacked Missionary Ridge east of the city. On the second day the troops of Thomas stormed the Confederate lines on Missionary Ridge, climbed to the crest of the mountain four



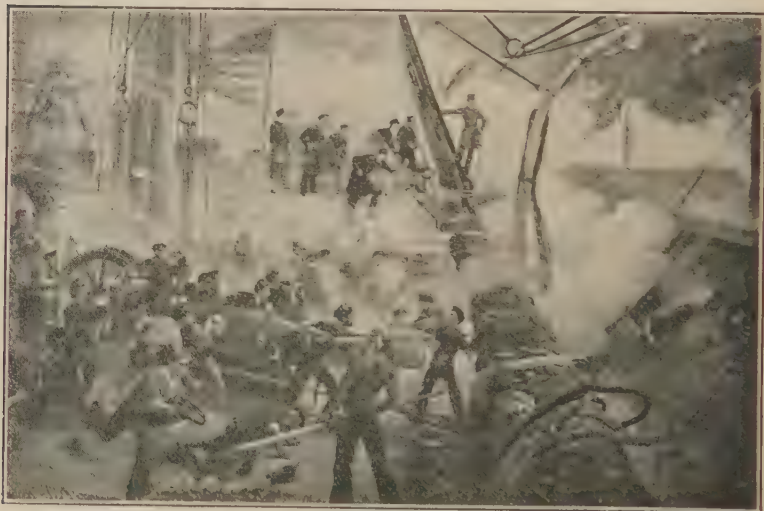
General William T. Sherman

hundred feet above the plain, and swept the Confederates before them. The pursuit did not cease until the Confederates had been driven far southward into Georgia. Grant now promptly relieved Knoxville in East Tennessee, which the Confederates were besieging and drove the last southern forces from that loyal region. This ended the fighting in 1863.

Early in 1864 Grant was put in command of all the armies of the Union. When spring came he took the field in Virginia, leaving Sherman to finish the work in the West. It was Sherman's first task to capture Atlanta, an important railroad center and doubly valuable to the Confederates because of the sorely needed supplies made in its mills and factories. Starting

Sherman's
campaign
against
Atlanta

in May, Sherman manœuvred and fought his way through the mountainous country in northern Georgia until he stood before Atlanta. Johnston, the Confederate leader, had wisely withdrawn before him, but Hood, who now took Johnston's place, turned furiously upon the Union army, only to meet defeat in three bloody battles. Then Sherman soon captured Atlanta and destroyed all its factories and machine shops. This was a serious blow to the Confederacy.



Farragut in the Battle of Mobile Bay

Operations
along the
coast

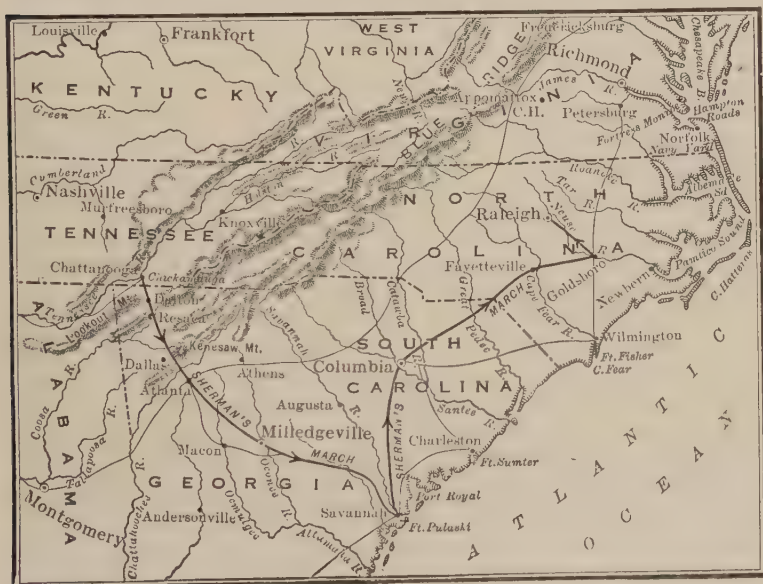
Farragut at
Mobile Bay

Throughout the war the navy was tightening its blockade of the southern coast and giving valuable assistance to military expeditions sent against the more important southern ports. These expeditions were not always successful, but every time one of them accomplished its purpose it made it more difficult for the Confederacy to get the foreign supplies its armies so much needed. In 1864 Mobile was the favorite resort of the blockade runners on the Gulf coast, and Admiral Farragut determined to close it. Lashed to the rigging of his flagship, above the smoke of battle, Farragut boldly ran past the forts at the entrance to Mobile Bay as he had passed those below New

Orleans in 1862, destroyed the Confederate ships in a hot fight, and thus sealed up the important port of Mobile.

After Hood abandoned Atlanta he led his men toward Tennessee, with the hope of compelling Sherman to fall back in order to defend Nashville. But Sherman refused to be diverted from the conquest of Georgia, and sent General Thomas back to oppose Hood. A better choice could not have been made. Thomas retired before Hood until he reached

The last campaign in Tennessee



Sherman's March to the Sea and through the Carolinas

Nashville. Then, after thorough preparation, he turned upon the Confederates in December, 1864, and in the battle of Nashville, he utterly defeated and scattered Hood's army. This was the last serious fighting of the war in the West.

Meanwhile Sherman was making his famous march from Atlanta to the sea. Breaking off all communication with the North, Sherman started from Atlanta in November with sixty thousand veteran troops. During the next month his army laid waste a strip of country sixty miles wide from Atlanta to Savannah. The railroads were torn up, barns and mills burned,

"Marching through Georgia"

and a vast amount of other property destroyed. Every day foraging parties scoured the country bringing in loads of bacon, poultry, corn meal—in fact, everything that could be used for food. There was much truth in the song of Sherman's men:

"How the turkeys gobbled which our commissary found,
How the sweet potatoes almost started from the ground,
While we were marching through Georgia."

Sherman met little opposition while engaged in this work of destruction. On December 22, 1864, he sent President Lincoln this message: "I beg to present you as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also about 25,000 bales of cotton." But Sherman was not content with what he had done. He soon started northward, driving the Confederates before him and sweeping a wide path of ruin and desolation through the Carolinas. It was Sherman's purpose to join Grant before Richmond, but while he was still in North Carolina the news came that Grant's work was done and the war practically over.

Grant and Lee.—In the early days of May, 1864, Grant began the last "On to Richmond" campaign in Virginia. He soon found Lee's army in "The Wilderness," a region of woodland and tangled thickets south of the Rapidan River. Grant had one hundred and twenty thousand men; Lee not more than half that number. But the Confederate leader was one of the world's greatest soldiers, and he knew every road and path in the wild country which lay between the Union army and Richmond. After two days of bloody but fruitless fighting in the Wilderness, Grant marched around Lee's position, only to find the skilful adversary again confronting him at Spottsylvania Court House. Here assault followed assault for days, but all in vain. The southern lines could not be broken. It was during this time of hammering the Confederate position at Spottsylvania Court House that Grant wrote the characteristic words, "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer."

From Spottsylvania Court House Grant again marched around the enemy whom he could not defeat. At Cold Harbor another assault upon the Confederate position was beaten back with frightful slaughter. But Grant was not to be turned from

Sherman's
last campaign

Bloody
fighting in
the Wilderness

From Spottsylvania to
Petersburg and
Richmond

THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR—1865

The Civil War virtually ended on April 9, 1865, when Lee surrendered his army to Grant at Appomattox Court House upon the most generous terms. In his *Personal Memoirs* Grant thus describes the scene in the picture: "When I left camp that morning I had not expected so soon the result that was then taking place and consequently was in rough garb. I was without a sword, and wore a soldier's blouse for a coat. When I went into the house I found General Lee. What his feelings were, I do not know. As he was a man of much dignity with an impassible face, it was impossible to say whether he felt glad that the end had finally come, or felt sad over the result, and was too manly to show it. My own feelings, which had been quite jubilant on the receipt of his letter, were sad and depressed. I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had suffered so long and valiantly, and had suffered so much for a cause."



© J. J. G. Ferris

THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR - 1865

his stern purpose. He again moved by the left flank, crossed the James River, and settled down to besiege the Confederates in Richmond and Petersburg. Grant was constantly searching for a weak place in the Confederate defenses, but Lee was wary and alert, and foiled him at every turn.

During the summer of 1864 Lee tried to break Grant's remorseless grip upon the Confederate capital by sending General Early down the Shenandoah Valley to threaten Washington. Early reached the gates of the national capital, only to be repulsed and driven away by its garrison with the aid of troops hurriedly sent from Grant's army. Grant then sent his dashing cavalry leader, Sheridan, to drive the Confederates from the Shenandoah Valley. Sheridan defeated Early at Winchester and Fisher's Hill in September, 1864, and then proceeded to lay waste the rich valley which had so often served the Confederates as a pathway to the North. Seventy mills and more than two thousand barns filled with hay and grain were burned,

and all the live stock driven away. Sheridan said that his work of destruction was done so thoroughly that "a crow flying over the country would need to carry his rations." But Early came back while Sheridan was absent from his army and, in a gallant attack at dawn, surprised the Union troops at Cedar Creek and drove them from the field. Sheridan heard the sound of battle at Winchester, and riding rapidly southward he rallied his flying men and led them back to a victory which swept the Confederate army from the Shenandoah Valley forever. The story of this brilliant action is stir-

Sheridan in
the Shenan-
doah Valley

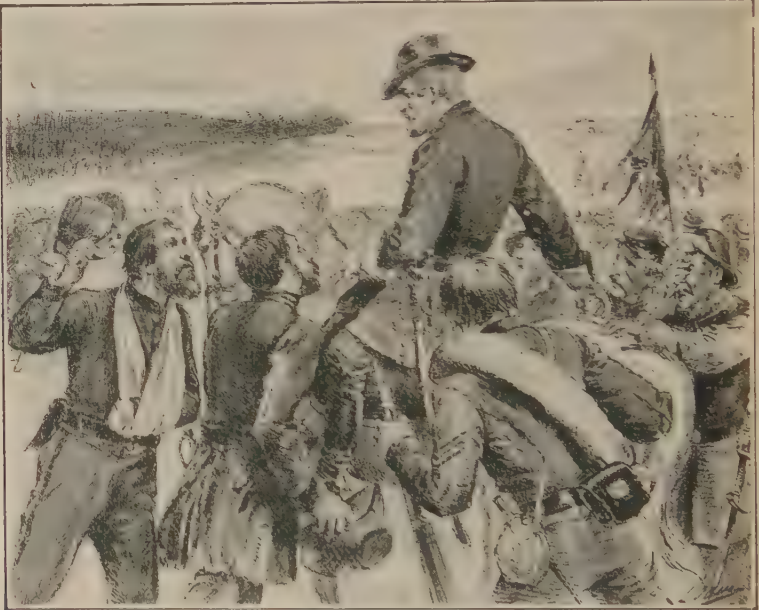


Statue by Gutzon Borglum in Washington, D. C.
General Philip H. Sheridan

ringly told in Thomas Buchanan Read's famous poem, "Sheridan's Ride."

Meanwhile the siege of Richmond and Petersburg dragged on through the fall of 1864 and during the long and weary winter months which followed it. As spring drew near, Grant began to seize the railroads by which supplies reached Richmond. At last Lee could hold out no longer. Early in April

The fall of Richmond



From the painting by H. A. Odgen
General Lee's Farewell to His Soldiers

he abandoned the Confederate capital and marched away toward the southwest in the hope of joining the southern forces in North Carolina. Grant followed in hot pursuit, and in a few days Lee's army was hemmed in at Appomattox Court House. Further resistance was useless, and on April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered his army to Grant upon the most generous terms. Lee's devoted soldiers were free to go to their homes upon their promise not to fight any more against the United States. They

Lee sur- renders at Appomattox

were not to be punished in any way, and those of them who owned horses or mules were permitted to take the animals home with them because, as Grant said, "They would need them to work their little farms." Grant permitted no rejoicing over the fallen foe, and his men shared their rations with the starving Confederates. Lee bade his men good-by with the words, "I have done the best I could for you," and rode away toward Richmond. Within a few weeks all the other Confederate forces in the field laid down their arms and once more the nation was at peace.

REFERENCES.

Wilson, *Division and Reunion*; Dodge, *Bird's-eye View of the Civil War*; Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*; *Outcome of the Civil War*; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vols. III-V; Schouler, *History of the United States*, Vol. VI; *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Northern People. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 228-239.
2. The Southern People. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 240-255.
3. England and the Civil War. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, IV, 76-95.
4. The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 608-614.
5. The Battle of Shiloh. Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*, 99-111.
6. The Battle of Antietam. Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*, 186-200.
7. Gettysburg. Schouler, *History of the United States*, VI, 358-369.
8. The Story of Pickett's Charge. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 372-376.
9. Chickamauga. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 381-385.
10. "Marching Through Georgia." Hosmer, *Outcome of the Civil War* 201-217.
11. Sheridan's Ride. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 422-427.
12. The Surrender of Lee. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 120-129.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE

Poems: Bryant, *Our Country's Call*; Longfellow, *The Cumberland*; Stedman, *Kearney at Seven Pines*; Read, *Sheridan's Ride*; Lowell, *The Harvard Commemoration Ode*.

Stories: Coffin, *Drumbeat of the Nation*; *Marching to Victory*; *Redeeming the Republic*; *Freedom Triumphant*; Stiles, *Four Years under Marse Robert*; Johnston, *The Long Roll*; *Cease Firing*; Brady, *The Patriots*; Crane, *The Red Badge of Courage*; Cooke, *Wearing the Gray*; *Hill to Hill*; Cable, *The Cavalier*.

Memoirs: Grant, *Personal Memoirs*; Porter, *Campaigning with Grant*; Sherman, *Memoirs*; Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*; Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*; Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox*.

Biographies: Wister, *Ulysses S. Grant*; Trent, *Robert E. Lee*; Page, *Robert E. Lee*; Barnes, *David G. Farragut*; Michie, *General McClellan*; Pennypacker, *General Meade*; Force, *General Sherman*; Coppée, *General Thomas*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. For what were the soldiers on each side fighting in the Civil War? Compare the military strength of the two sections at the outbreak of the war.

2. Estimate the influence of the blockade in winning the war. Locate on a map the chief seaports of the Confederacy.

3. In what ways did the physical geography of Virginia influence the history of the Civil War? Why was the control of the Mississippi River so important in the Civil War? Why were the people of eastern Tennessee loyal to the Union while the rest of the state favored the Confederacy?

4. Why was each of the following places an important strategic point in the war: Corinth, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Atlanta?

5. What were Lee's motives in invading the North in 1863? What is meant by calling Gettysburg the "high water mark of the Confederacy"?

6. The pupils will enjoy looking at the pictures in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* and in *A Pictorial History of the Civil War*, and will learn much about war-time life from them.

7. Draw a map of the Confederacy and locate upon it the great battles named in this chapter.

+ test

CHAPTER XXII

THE COUNTRY IN WAR TIME

Life in the Army.—In the last chapter we traced the military history of the Civil War. In this we shall study the life of the people during the trying-days from 1861 to 1865. To many the war was a time of service in the army. More than two and a half million men in the North and over a **Numbers**



The White House of the Confederacy

The home of Jefferson Davis in Richmond during the Civil War

million in the South wore the uniform of the soldier. This means that nearly one-half of the northern men of military age put on the Union blue, and that more than nine out of ten of such men in the South were clad in Confederate gray.

The first calls for troops were answered with enthusiasm in both sections of the country, and large numbers of eager and patriotic young men hastened to enlist. But as time passed it grew more and more difficult to keep the ranks filled. Early in 1862 the Confederate Congress passed a draft law which made

**Volunteer-
ing and
drafting**

all citizens between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five liable to military service. From time to time the age limits were extended until at last it was said that the South was "robbing the cradle and cheating the grave" to get soldiers for its armies. In 1863 it became necessary for the Congress of the United States to pass a draft act under which men were drawn by lot for military duty. This law was very unpopular, and the first attempt to enforce it led to a great riot in New York City in which hundreds of people were killed. Besides drafting soldiers for the Union armies, the federal government, and many northern states and counties as well, encouraged men to volunteer by paying them bounties in cash when they enlisted. In the end the South failed for lack of men and supplies, but the armies of the Union were larger in 1865 than at any previous time during the war.

Drill and the
lack of it

We must not think of the life of the soldiers in the Civil War as one of constant fighting. After men were mustered into the service they were kept usually for weeks and sometimes for months in camps of instruction where their days were given to military drill. Sometimes when the need was great they were hurried off to the battlefield with very little training for the work before them. In many instances the officers knew little more about the art of war than the men they led. In time many of these officers from civil life became skilful soldiers, but most of the men who rose to high command in both the Union and the Confederate armies were graduates of the United States military academy at West Point.

In camp and
on the
battlefield

The life of the soldier in the field was marked by exposure to all kinds of weather, by long and toilsome marches often through rain and mud, by days of drill and work in camp, and sometimes by months of tedious inactivity in winter quarters. Yet the men on both sides bore the hardships of army life with stout hearts. The soldiers of the Union sang "John Brown's Body" or "The Battle-Cry of Freedom" as they marched, and the music of "Dixie" often rang out around the campfires of the Confederates. Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic" is the noblest of the many songs inspired by the Civil War. We may be sure that the days when letters came from home were awaited with eager expectation by the soldiers of both armies. The exposure and hardships of army life

caused much sickness and many died of disease. Men were often in danger when on picket duty or out on scouting service, and when the great battles were fought, thousands were killed or wounded or taken prisoners. The prisoners on both sides suffered great privations and many of them perished in the prison camps.

The wounded were cared for as tenderly as possible in field hospitals and in large general hospitals in cities far in the rear of the armies.

A great deal of the suffering and death among the wounded of the Civil War was due to the fact that the surgeons of that time had not yet learned the use of antiseptics. The suffering in the Confederate hospitals was especially severe because of the serious lack of medicines and other hospital supplies in the South. Two northern societies, the Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission, helped to

care for the sick and wounded, and looked after the moral welfare of the Union soldiers much as the Red Cross Society, the Young Men's Christian Association, and similar organizations worked for our men in the Great War with Germany which we entered in 1917.

The Civil War was a struggle in which the men on both sides were equally sincere in fighting for what they believed to be right, though all men can now see that it was best for both sections that the Union should be preserved and slavery abol-



Julia Ward Howe

Her song, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," was one of the most inspiring songs of the Civil War.

In the hospital

**Priceless
memories**

ished. The time has come when all Americans alike can cherish as a priceless heritage the memory of the devotion, the fortitude, and the splendid valor of the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray. The soldiers of Grant and Lee who survived the Civil War were the leaders in rebuilding and reuniting our country. Of the multitude on both sides who fell on southern battlefields it may be said with equal truth,

"On Fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards, with solemn round,
The bivouac of the dead."

**Home
support**

The Folks at Home.—Not all the burdens and privations of war are borne by the soldiers who do the fighting. The armies of a free people cannot long wage war unless they have the ardent and loyal support of the folks at home, for those who stay at home must produce the food, manufacture the supplies, and, above all, give the moral support and encouragement without which any war would soon fail. In our Civil War the fighting men on both sides were fortunate in having such support in full measure from the people behind them.

**The North
prospered
in war
time**

The industries of the North were very prosperous during the Civil War. The loyal states suffered little from invading armies and their people could sell at high prices everything that they produced. The northern farmers raised great quantities of food for the Union army, and any surplus that they had left found a ready market in Europe. The factories were busy making clothing, shoes, blankets, and arms for the soldiers. New mines were opened and the forests were rapidly converted into lumber. So many men were in the army that those who remained at home easily found employment at high wages. Indeed, the demand for workers was so great that invention was stimulated, and labor-saving machines like the reaper and the sewing machine were rapidly coming into general use. Never before had the people of the northern states been so busy, and never before had they acquired money so easily or spent it so freely. "Commerce, business, manufactures and labor," said the leading newspaper of Chicago, "are going on as in a profound peace save with a more impetuous and whirling activity than peace ever knew."

In striking contrast to this war-time prosperity in the North were the poverty and ruin which the Civil War inflicted upon the South. The invading armies of the Union destroyed its railroads, burned its barns, mills, and factories, and left a path of desolation behind them. The old South was an agricultural region, but the blockade made it well-nigh impossible for its people to send their cotton, tobacco, and sugar to market. It was equally difficult for them to procure many of the common necessities of life for which they had always depended upon

Privations
in the South



A Consequence of War

the outside world. Tea and coffee disappeared, salt was scarce and hard to get, and in the latter part of the war the men in the Confederate armies were in sore need of shoes, blankets, and warm clothing. After the railroads of the South broke down, food grew scarce and very expensive in the cities. Lee's soldiers did not surrender until they were on the verge of starvation. Yet all these privations were borne by the people of the South with a cheerful fortitude made possible only by an intense devotion to the "Lost Cause."

The white people of the South have never forgotten the wonderful fidelity of the slaves during the Civil War. While nearly all the southern white men were in the Confederate

Fidelity of
the negroes

armies, their wives and children were safe at home though surrounded by thousands of negroes. Under the direction of the old men and the women, the faithful slaves continued to cultivate the plantations. Though most of the negroes desired freedom and well understood that Union success would give it to them, such was their respect and affection for their masters' families that few slaves ran away except in those sections where they followed the invading northern armies.

Common
experiences

In spite of the great contrast in material prosperity between the North and the South, both sections had many war-time experiences in common. In both, life was exciting. The women of both parts of our country watched with the same sorrowful foreboding as the soldiers marched away, and toiled with the same passionate devotion to provide the lint, bandages, and clothing needed in the hospitals. The folks at home on both sides knew the same anxious waiting for news from the battle-fields and the same bitter grief for those who were slain. The heavy losses of war fell upon the North and the South alike, but because of its larger population and its greater resources the North was far better able to bear them.

War-time
literature

The intense feelings of wrath, sorrow, and exultation stirred by the war for the Union find their best expression in the writings of the time. The years just before and during the war are the golden age of American literature. Our greatest poets, Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, Holmes, Lowell, and Whitman did much of their best work during this period. The outcome of the Civil War inspired Lowell's "Commemoration Ode," considered the noblest poem ever written in America.

The cost of
the war

Paying for the War.—It is impossible to tell exactly how much it cost our country in men and money to save the Union and to free the slaves. About seven hundred thousand soldiers, counting those who perished on both sides, were slain in battle or died of wounds or of disease. The health of many thousands more was permanently wrecked by the exposure and the hardships of army life. The Union government spent three and a half billion dollars in carrying on the war. If we add to this amount the waste and destruction of property in the South, the loss of four million slaves who were worth at least two billion dollars to their owners before the war, the interest on our war debt, and the four billion dollars paid in

pensions since 1865, the loss in money inflicted upon the people of the United States by the Civil War will probably reach the enormous total of ten billion dollars.

Money is often called the sinews of war. It requires a vast amount of it in war time to pay the wages of the soldiers and provide them with food, clothing, arms, and ammunition. The government can procure money only by taxing the people and by borrowing, and both of these methods were freely used during the Civil War. The duties on imported goods were raised from

War taxes



Script or Fractional Currency Issued by the Confederate States

time to time until, in 1865, our people were living under a very high tariff, which had a marked effect in promoting the growth of manufacturing in the North. Heavy taxes were also imposed upon many goods made within the country. It was said at the time that there was a tax upon "every article which enters into the mouth or covers the back or is placed under the foot; upon everything which is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste." There were taxes upon all incomes above six hundred dollars; and special taxes were imposed upon checks, receipts, and legal papers; stamps were required upon checks, receipts, and legal papers; and special taxes were imposed upon articles of luxury like gold watches and pianos.

In spite of its large income from the war taxes, the federal government frequently found it necessary to borrow money.

**Borrowing
money****Bonds****Greenbacks
and their
effect**

It did this in two ways, by selling bonds and by issuing treasury notes. Both were promises to pay, but they differed in two important respects. The bonds bore interest and were payable at the end of a definite term of years. The treasury notes, which were often called "greenbacks" because of the color of the ink with which they were printed, did not bear interest and were not payable at any specified time. These greenbacks were paid out by the government for the supplies which it purchased and were used as paper money by the people. Of course, if the government would pay gold coin or specie for them whenever it was asked to do so, the greenbacks would be worth just as much as the gold. But early in the war the government suspended specie payment; that is, it stopped paying its notes in gold on demand. The value of the greenbacks then depended upon the faith of the people in the future ability and disposition of the United States to redeem them in gold. Greenbacks were issued in such large quantities that the people began to fear that the government might never be able to redeem them. This feeling grew especially strong when Confederate victories made it seem that there was small hope of saving the Union. For these reasons the greenbacks depreciated in value until they were worth much less than their face value in gold. But the government had made them a legal tender by law; that is, a creditor was required to accept them whenever a debtor offered them in payment of a debt or for a purchase. As the people had to accept this cheap paper money for their goods, they raised the prices of the goods, until before the war ended it took nearly three dollars in greenbacks to pay for what could be bought for one dollar in gold. We still use the greenbacks as money, but ever since 1879 they have been worth just as much as gold, because, at the beginning of that year the government began once more to redeem them in gold on demand. This act is called "the resumption of specie payment."

**The national
banks**

X In 1863 Congress passed a national banking act. This law provided that, if a bank would invest at least one-third of its capital in government bonds, the government would permit it to issue bank notes to the value of ninety per cent of these bonds. The government kept in its possession the bonds belonging to each bank as security that the bank would pay its notes.

If a national bank failed, the United States would use its bonds to make its notes good. This law made national banking profitable, because the bank drew interest on its bonds and also on the bank notes which it loaned as money. The purpose of the national banking act was to make it easier for the government to borrow money by encouraging the banks to buy its bonds, and at the same time to give the people the use of the good paper money issued by the national banks in place of the unsatisfactory bank notes formerly issued by state banks. The state banks soon stopped circulating their notes as money because the national government put such a heavy tax on state bank notes that the state banks could no longer afford to issue them. We still have a large number of national banks in the United States and much of our paper money consists of the notes which they issue.

The Confederacy had far more difficulty than the Union in procuring money with which to carry on the Civil War. It was impossible to raise very much money in the South by taxation. One law required the southern farmers to hand over one-tenth of what they raised on their farms to the government. Some bonds were sold, but the chief financial dependence of the Confederacy was upon paper money which it issued in great quantities. This Confederate currency depreciated in value so rapidly that a year before the war ended it took one hundred and fifty dollars of it to buy a pair of shoes. When the Confederacy fell, its bonds and notes became worthless. After the war the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States provided that "neither the United States, nor any state, shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States."

**Finances of
the Con-
federacy**

The End of Slavery.—The southern people loved their states more than they did the United States and fought for the right of each state to withdraw from the Union if it pleased. The men of the North believed that they owed their highest allegiance to the whole nation and rushed to arms, not to destroy slavery, but to save the Union. But slavery was the real cause of the Civil War. The discussion of it and the conflict over its extension into the West had sectionalized the country and arrayed the North and the South against each other.

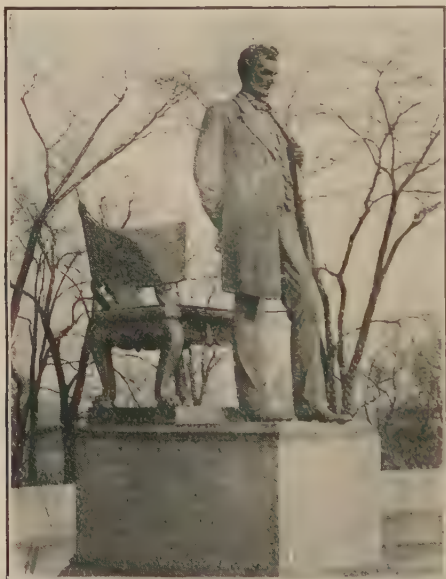
**The real
cause of the
war**

At the outbreak of the war, however, neither side was willing to admit that it was fighting over slavery.

Anti-slavery clamor

Early in the war the radical antislavery men in the North began to cry that slavery must be destroyed if the Union was to be saved. They pointed out how the slaves strengthened the South by cultivating its plantations and building its forts. At first President Lincoln paid little attention to the growing anti-slavery clamor. This was not because he favored slavery in

Lincoln's policy



From the statue by Augustus St. Gaudens.
Abraham Lincoln
A famous statue in Lincoln Park, Chicago.

any sense. On the contrary he hated it as much as any abolitionist. "If slavery is not wrong," he once said, "nothing is wrong." When he was inaugurated, Lincoln thought that he had no right to interfere with slavery in the states where it existed. After the war began, he saw that he could strike at it as a military measure, but he decided to wait until he was sure that the people would support him. Moreover, he was especially eager to hold the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri in the

Union, and their people were slaveholders who might be driven into the arms of the South if he acted rashly. In all that he did, Lincoln's first thought was to save the Union. To those who complained that he was slow to act against slavery he said, "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

By midsummer of 1862 Lincoln was convinced that freeing

the slaves in the seceded states would help to save the Union and that the people of the loyal states would approve and support such a measure. On July 22nd he read the first draft of an Emancipation Proclamation to the members of his cabinet. One of them suggested that he wait until the Union army won a victory. This was wise advice and Lincoln laid his proclamation aside until after the battle of Antietam. Then he said, "I have made a vow that if McClellan drove Lee across the Potomac I would send the proclamation **after him.**" Lincoln kept this vow, and on September 22, 1862, he issued a proclamation declaring that on January 1, 1863, "All persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." The states in the Confederacy paid no attention to this warning, and on January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued the promised Emancipation Proclamation naming the states and parts of states in which all slaves were declared free.

The Emancipation Proclamation

The Emancipation Proclamation is one of the immortal documents in the history of the long struggle of men everywhere for liberty. It made free men of three and one-half million slaves. At the same time it made sure the preservation of the Union. The people of the South hoped that England would interfere in their behalf because of her great need of their cotton. Most of the upper classes in England, as we have seen, did sympathize with the South. But the English common people hated slavery, and when they saw that the North was fighting to destroy it, there was no longer any danger that their government would help the Confederacy. Without such foreign aid to break the blockade, the cause of the South was hopeless. Moreover, the freeing of the slaves quickened the zeal of the antislavery men in the North, and henceforth they fought with greater energy and determination than ever.

Its effect

We must remember that the Emancipation Proclamation did not free the slaves in the border slave states which remained true to the Union, or even in those parts of the seceded states where the authority of the United States had been restored. Early in the war Lincoln tried to persuade the slaveholders in the border states to free their slaves on the condition that they should be paid for them by the federal government, but they

The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution

refused to listen to this proposition. After the Emancipation Proclamation the states of West Virginia, Missouri, and Maryland abolished slavery within their borders. In January, 1865, Congress proposed the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution. This amendment provides that: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude . . . shall exist within the United States, or in any place subject to their jurisdiction." By December, 1865, three-fourths of the states had ratified this amendment, and it became a part of the supreme law of the land. Slavery thus passed away in the United States forever.

Abraham Lincoln.—Edwin Markham, one of our American poets, fitly calls Lincoln "the Captain with the mighty heart," and says of him that

"When the step of earthquake
shook the house,
Wrenching the rafters from
their ancient hold,
He held the ridgepole up, and
spiked again
The rafters of the Home."

Side by side with Washington, the father of our country, our people will always honor Lincoln because he preserved the Union and gave it a new birth of freedom.

When he became president

in 1861 Lincoln was an untried and little known man. Many people doubted his fitness for the great task before him. But the strength of the tall, homely Westerner who had grown to manhood on the frontiers of Indiana and Illinois, was soon apparent. Lincoln's three chief advisers, William H. Seward, secretary of state, Salmon P. Chase, secretary of treasury, and Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war, were all able and forceful men, yet they quickly discovered that the president was the master spirit of the administration. Some of the politicians found fault with Lincoln, but the common

The great
leader



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

Birthplace of Abraham Lincoln

As preserved in the Lincoln Memorial,
Hodgensville, Kentucky

Lincoln and
the people

people soon learned to love and trust the honest, tactful, and patient yet resolute man in the White House, and their confidence in his wisdom and in his patriotism grew as long as he lived.

When the time came for the presidential election of 1864 a few dissatisfied Republican politicians wanted to set Lincoln aside, but the people would not listen to them and the president was renominated almost without opposition. The supporters of Lincoln in 1864 called themselves the Union party. This party, which included many war Democrats as well as the Republicans, declared in the plainest terms for the restoration of the Union and the destruction of slavery. Andrew Johnson, a loyal Democrat of Tennessee, was named for the vice-presidency. The Democrats said in their platform that the war to preserve the Union was a failure and that it ought to be stopped. But General McClellan, their candidate for the presidency, declared that he could not look his old comrades in the face and say that, and insisted that no peace could be permanent without Union. The campaign of 1864 resulted in the triumphant reelection of Lincoln.

The election
of 1864

On March 4, 1865, Lincoln took the oath of office as president for a second time. The short address which he made on that occasion is one of the most beautiful in all literature. Speaking of the North and of the South he said, "Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged."

Lincoln's
second
inaugural
address

Of the approaching end of the war Lincoln said: "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive

on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Just a month after Lincoln began his second term, he walked through the streets of Richmond after the Confederates aban-

doned that city. The end of the war was at hand. In a few days there came the news of Lee's surrender. But in the midst of their joy over the coming of peace, the people whom Lincoln had led through four awful years of war were suddenly called upon to mourn him "with the passion of an angry grief." On the evening of April 14, 1865, Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln went with two young friends to Ford's Theatre in Washington. During the play an actor named Booth entered the president's box from the rear and shot Mr. Lincoln through the head.

The death of Lincoln



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

Ford's Theatre in which Lincoln was shot,
Washington, D. C.

The unconscious victim was carried to a house across the street, where he died the next morning. "Now he belongs to the ages," said Stanton, Lincoln's great war secretary, as he stood in tears by the bedside of his fallen chief.

The deep national sorrow caused by Lincoln's death is best pictured in Walt Whitman's noble poem, "O Captain! My Captain!" Many writers have told the fascinating story of Lincoln's rise from the rude log cabin in Kentucky in which he was born to the foremost place in our nation in the most critical hour in its history. No American biography is more inspiring. Among the numerous estimates of Lincoln's life and character in prose and verse perhaps the finest is that of Lowell in his immortal "Commemoration Ode,"

"The first American"

"Standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame,
The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man;
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American."

REFERENCES.

Wilson, *Division and Reunion*; Hosmer, *Outcome of the Civil War* (especially Chaps. XV-XVI); Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III-V (especially Chaps. XXVII-XXVIII); Schouler, *History of the United States*, Vol. VI; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War*; Schwab, *The Confederate States of America*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Leaders in the Civil War. Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*, 19-34.
2. Getting Ready to Fight. Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*, 70-83.
3. Life in War Time. Hosmer, *Outcome of the Civil War*, 57-71.
4. The Soldiers of the Civil War. Schouler, *History of the United States*, VI, 290-316.
5. The Spirit of the North. Hosmer, *Outcome of the Civil War*, 249-268.
6. The Spirit of the South. Hosmer, *Outcome of the Civil War*, 269-289.
7. The Treatment of Prisoners of War. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 483-515.
8. The Effect of the Blockade in the South. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 544-548.
9. The Gains and Losses of the War. Dodge, *Bird's-Eye View of the Civil War*, 320-327.
10. Emancipation. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 390-411.
11. The North in War Time. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 189-342.
12. The South in War Time. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 343-481.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Whitman, *O Captain! My Captain!*; Tom Taylor, *Abraham Lincoln*; Markham, *Lincoln*; Ryan, *The Conquered Banner*; Osgood, *Driving Home the Cows*.

Stories: Page, *Two Little Confederates*; Marse Chan; *Among the Camps*; Andrews, *The Perfect Tribute*; Seawell, *The Victory*; Eggleston, *The Master of Warlock*; Glasgow, *The Battle Ground*; Mitchell, *In War Time*; Westways; Fox, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*; Churchill, *The Crisis*.

Reminiscences: Alcott, *Hospital Sketches*; Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections*; Harris, *Tales of the Home Folks in Peace and War*; Wise, *The End of an Era*.

Biographies: Tarbell, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*; Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*; Pendleton, *Alexander H. Stephens*; Lothrop, *William H. Seward*; Hart, *Salmon P. Chase*; Gorham, *Edwin M. Stanton*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. Can both sides be right in war?
2. Sum up the causes of the Civil War. What great questions did it decide?
3. Make a list of all the Civil War songs that you can find. Make a similar list of famous poems upon Civil War topics. How many of these poems have you read?
4. What progress has been made in medicine and surgery since the Civil War? Compare military life in the Civil War and in our war with Germany in 1917-1918. Make a similar comparison of the experiences of the folks at home.
5. Was the good conduct of the slaves in the Civil War due to their virtues or to their ignorance?
6. Define "bond," "treasury note," "bank note," "legal tender," "suspension of specie payment." What is meant by saying that "gold is at a premium"?
7. Explain the difference between the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.
8. Why was the death of Lincoln a great misfortune to the South? Find all the poems you can about Lincoln.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE RECOVERY OF THE NATION

The Home-Coming of the Soldiers.—When the Civil War was over the soldiers on both sides returned to their homes. The defeated Confederates were permitted to go home at once upon their promise not to fight any more against the Union. The huge Union army was disbanded more slowly. The troops of Grant and Sherman were brought to Washington, where for two days they marched in triumphal review through the streets of the national capital. Then as rapidly as the work could be done the men who had saved the Union were mustered out and sent to their homes. For months the trains were filled with returning soldiers. Every nook and corner of the North welcomed the home-coming veterans. Within a year nearly a million men had gladly turned from the ways of war to the peaceful pursuits of civil life.

The armies
disbanded

The nation did not forget the men who had borne the heat and burden of battle. The government gave generous pensions to those who were disabled by wounds or by the hardships of army life. Many "old soldiers" became the leaders in the industrial and political life of their communities. Soon associations of veterans, like the Grand Army of the Republic, were organized to continue the comradeship formed in the army and to keep alive the memories of the war.

The "old
soldiers"

We have seen how the industries of the North had prospered during the war. There was work for all, and most of the returning Union soldiers soon found places on the farms or in the workshops and offices of their section. Those whom life in the army had unsettled and given a taste for adventure went to the West where they established new homes on the frontier or helped construct the Union Pacific Railroad, which was built just after the war to connect the valley of the Mississippi with the Pacific Coast.

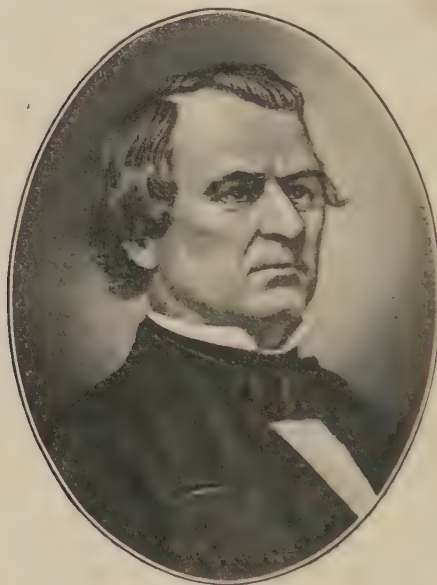
In the North

Far different was the home-coming of the soldiers of the South. Slowly and painfully they tramped homeward through a land ravaged by war. Upon their arrival they faced poverty, for the war had taken from them everything that they possessed

In the South

except the land. It required the toil of years to rebuild the industries of their section. Their former slaves were free, and the two races must learn the difficult lesson of how to live and work together in their new relation. Practically all authority except that of the victorious Union army had ceased to exist in the South, and there was pressing need for the reconstruction of state and local governments that could maintain law and order and protect life and property.

The plan
of the
President



Andrew Johnson

The Reconstruction of the State Governments in the South.—

Lincoln had begun the work of reconstructing the state governments in the South before his death. He held that the war had been fought to prove that states could not lawfully withdraw from the Union, but he said that the states of the Confederacy were out of their right relation to the Union. His great heart was filled with the spirit of forgiveness for the southern people, and he wanted to bring the seceded states back to their old relation to the Union

as gently and quickly as possible. For the most part Andrew Johnson, the new president, carried on Lincoln's plans. As soon as the war was over, the southern ports were opened to commerce, the duties were collected in them, and the United States postal service was resumed. Johnson appointed provisional or temporary governors in each conquered state under whose direction the white voters—with the exception of the leaders in secession who were not permitted to take part in the work of reconstruction—elected state conventions to revise the state constitutions. Then elections were held at which local and state

officers and members of the national House of Representatives were chosen. The new state legislatures met promptly, ratified the thirteenth amendment abolishing slavery, and elected United States senators. When these things were done President Johnson thought that the work of reconstruction was complete and that the representatives of the southern states ought to be allowed to return to their old places in Congress.

But when Congress met in December, 1865, it refused to admit the representatives from the southern states. There



Thaddeus Stevens

Charles Sumner

Leaders in Congress during the reconstruction period.

were several reasons for this action. The members of Congress declared that the president had exceeded his authority in what he had done. They said that it was the right of Congress to decide how the state governments in the South should be reconstructed. They felt that men who were officers in the Confederate army in March ought not to be members of the national Congress in December. The leaders in Congress, like Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives and Charles Sumner in the Senate, lacked Lincoln's forgiving spirit and wanted the South to suffer for what it had done. Then nearly all the new southern representatives were Democrats and the Republican majority in Congress was not eager to see its control

**Congress
rejects
Johnson's
work**

threatened by the admission of so many members of the opposite political faith. The wise and kind Lincoln might have persuaded Congress to accept his plan for reorganizing the South, but the tactless, quarrelsome, and obstinate Johnson soon lost all influence over that body.

**The rights of
the freedmen**

Moreover, when Congress met in 1865 the people of the North were especially indignant at the recent acts of the new state governments in the South. No sooner were these governments formed than they faced the serious task of controlling the negroes to whom the war had given their freedom. Many of the freedmen, as the former slaves were now called, refused to work and wandered aimlessly about the country or drifted into the towns where they were often disorderly and sometimes criminal. In their alarm at this condition of affairs the southern people promptly passed laws to restrain the negro population. Young negroes were assigned to guardians, usually their former owners, for whom they must work for a time in return for their board and clothes. Vagrant negroes or tramps were fined and compelled to work for the man who paid their fine. The southern white people thought that such laws were absolutely necessary in order to protect their country from the lawlessness of a large body of idle negroes. To the people of the North these laws looked like an effort to restore slavery under another name, and Congress resolved that the states of the South should not return to their old places in the Union until the rights of the freedmen were adequately protected.

**The
fourteenth
amendment**

In carrying out this purpose Congress passed the Civil Rights Bill, which gave the freedmen the protection of the federal government. The substance of this law was soon made a part of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution. This amendment began by declaring that, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside." This made it clear that the freedmen were citizens. The fourteenth amendment then went on to say: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." It

was the plain intention of this amendment to protect the freedmen in all their civil rights.

The fourteenth amendment did not give the freedmen the right to vote, but it did say that if any state refused them that right its representation in Congress should be proportionally reduced. The southern states were given to understand that if they would ratify this amendment to the Constitution they would be restored to their places in the Union. Nearly all of them, however, rejected the fourteenth amendment, and in 1867 Congress took their reconstruction entirely into its own hands and began that work all over again by passing the Reconstruction acts.

The South
rejects this
amendment

Under the plan of reconstruction provided in these acts, the seceding states, except Tennessee which had been restored already to the Union, were divided into five military districts, each of which was put under the command of a general in the army. This military governor was to hold an election in each state at which all male citizens, white and black alike, except those excluded for engaging in rebellion against the United States, were to vote. At these elections the people were to choose delegates to state conventions which were to make new state constitutions giving the negroes the right to vote. Later, to make negro suffrage certain and permanent, it was put into the Constitution of the United States in the words of the fifteenth amendment: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It was not until 1870 that the last of the southern states was finally restored to its old relation to the Union under this plan of Congress.

The plan of
Congress

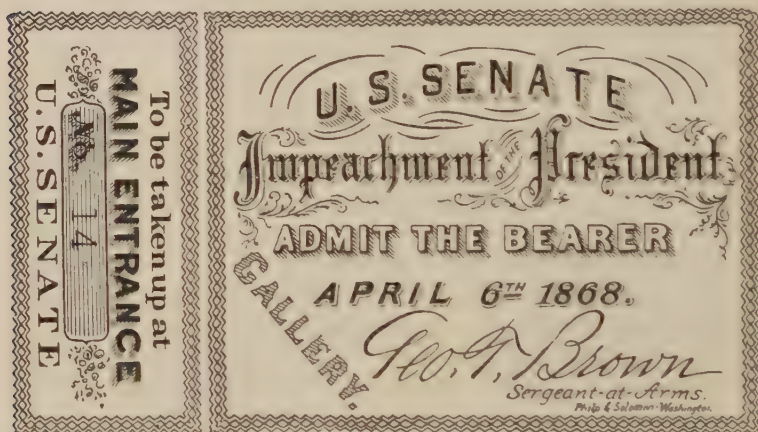
The fifteenth
amendment

The Quarrel between President Johnson and Congress.—In time of war the president exercises greater power than usual because he is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy. Congress is apt to be jealous of this increased authority of the president and to try to deprive him of it upon the return of peace. This jealousy of the power of the president was one reason, though not the most important, why Congress rejected President Johnson's plan for reorganizing the southern states. Johnson was very angry when Congress failed to agree with him in this matter and denounced that body in coarse and violent

The
President
and
Congress

language. Though he was honest and patriotic, the president was narrow-minded and headstrong. Unfortunately for the country, he lacked Lincoln's patience, wisdom, and power to feel sympathy for men who differed from him, and to win them to his support. President Johnson's quarrel with Congress, which began in 1865, continued with growing bitterness on both sides throughout his term.

Johnson believed in the rights of the states and wanted to defend them against the encroachments of the federal govern-



A Ticket to the Impeachment of President Johnson

Johnson's
conduct

ment. He had risen from a very humble position in the mountains of East Tennessee, and like most poor white men of the South, he despised the negroes and had little sympathy with the purpose of the North to protect the rights of the freedmen. He vetoed the Civil Rights Bill and the Reconstruction acts, but Congress passed those measures over his veto by a two-thirds vote in each house. In a further effort to limit Johnson's power, Congress likewise passed a Tenure of Office Act in spite of his veto. The Constitution gives the president the power to appoint, with the consent of the Senate, nearly all the important officers of the government. Our presidents had always had the power to remove from office any appointive officer except the judges, who serve for life or during good behavior. But by the Tenure of Office Act, the consent of the Senate was required for

The Tenure
of Office Act

removals as well as for appointments. By this law Congress hoped to prevent Johnson from removing the officers who were favorable to its plans in the South.

President Johnson believed that the Tenure of Office Act was unconstitutional, and when Edwin M. Stanton, the secretary of war, disobeyed his orders, he removed him from office. In 1868 the House of Representatives impeached Johnson for this act. After a long trial in the Senate, at which Chief Justice Chase presided, thirty-five senators voted for conviction and nineteen for acquittal. As a two-thirds vote is required to convict in cases of impeachment, a single vote saved Johnson from conviction and his consequent removal from office. It is now generally thought that his conviction would have been unwise, because it might have encouraged future Congresses to try to remove by impeachment presidents with whom they failed to agree in politics.

Johnson
impeached
and
acquitted

The Rise and Fall of the Carpetbaggers.—When the Civil War was over, a few northern men went to live in the South because they liked the country, wanted to have a hand in rebuilding it, and hoped to profit by the development of its rich resources. After the negroes were given the right to vote, many dishonest Republican politicians in the North hastened southward in the hope of winning offices and money for themselves through the aid of the illiterate freedmen. Most of the newcomers from the North were poor, and the southern people scornfully called them all “carpetbaggers” because it was said that they brought all their possessions in a valise made of carpet.

The “carpet-
baggers”

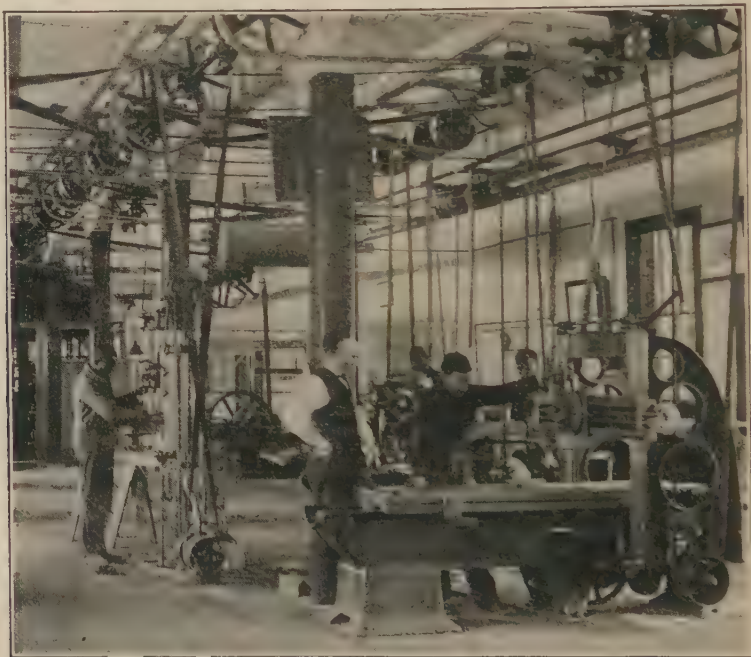
The great mass of the new negro voters were densely ignorant. Few of them possessed the intelligence and good judgment to manage their own affairs wisely, much less the public business of the communities and states in which they lived. Under these circumstances the carpetbaggers and a few unscrupulous southern white men, who were called “scalawags”, in contempt, by their neighbors, found it an easy matter to control the negro vote. They taught the freedmen that their former masters would make slaves of them again at the first opportunity, and that the only way in which the negro could guard his freedom was to vote the Republican ticket. For several years the carpetbaggers and their negro followers were in complete

Carpet-
baggers and
negroes
control the
South

control of most of the states in the South. The white politicians held most of the higher positions, but many negroes were elected to office.

**Their rule
was ignorant
and corrupt**

The evils of carpetbagger rule in the South are almost beyond description. The illiterate negro office-holders had no understanding of the duties of their positions. There were counties in Mississippi in which not a single justice of the peace



A Corner in the Machine Shop at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, Founded by Booker T. Washington for the Industrial Education of Negroes.

could write his name. Only twenty-two out of one hundred and fifty-five members of one legislature in South Carolina could read and write, and more than two-thirds of the same body were so poor that they paid no taxes. Many of the carpetbaggers were dishonest, and the negro politicians quickly learned to profit by their example. The local and state governments were filled with foolish extravagance, bribery, and graft.

All this shameless extravagance and waste had to be paid

for by the taxpayers and taxes were soon excessively high. In five years of carpetbagger rule in Mississippi the state tax rate increased fourteenfold. In many cases there was a similar increase in the county tax rate. When the farmers and planters who were impoverished by the war could not pay these heavy taxes their land was seized and sold to get the money. One-fifth of all the land in Mississippi, for instance, changed hands in this way. The greedy politicians who were robbing the state bought such land, often almost "for a song." Besides the large amounts which they raised by taxation, the carpetbagger governments borrowed vast sums by selling the bonds of the states. Most of this borrowed money was wasted or stolen in connection with schemes for internal improvements, and in the end the states had little to show for it. In a few years the carpetbaggers and their negro followers brought most of the southern states to the verge of financial ruin.

**It meant
high taxes**

But the white people of the South found the social humiliation of the reconstruction days harder to bear than their poverty. Under the influence of their leaders from the North, the negroes began to think that they were the social equals of their former masters, and to demand the right to ride in the same cars, to live at the same hotels, and to send their children to the same schools as the white people. The white men of the South furiously resented every suggestion of social equality between the two races and fought against it with every power which they still possessed. The flames of race hatred were kindled and deeds of violence were done on both sides. If a tree may be judged by its fruit, the action of Congress in giving the right to vote to all the freedmen in the South at once was one of the most unwise and harmful policies ever adopted in our country.

**And race
hatred in the
South**

At last the time came when the white people of the South could no longer endure the misrule under which they lived and they resolved to stop it at any cost. As the United States troops, still stationed in their midst, prevented open attacks upon the carpetbagger governments, the southern people were driven to accomplish their purpose by other means. Secret societies were formed whose object was to protect the people from the lawless element among the negroes, keep the freedmen from voting, and drive the carpetbaggers out of the country. One of these societies, the Ku-Klux Klan, grew to be a great

**The
Ku-Klux
Klan**

organization which spread over several of the southern states. Disguised in long robes and hideous masks, the members of the Klan rode about the country at night frightening and threatening the superstitious negroes and warning their white leaders to leave. When these methods failed to accomplish their purpose, harsher ones were used, and men were flogged and sometimes shot or hanged. Angered by these acts of violence, Congress adopted severe measures against the Ku-Klux Klan. At the same time many of its own members, who saw that its methods were breeding a spirit of lawlessness in the South, abandoned it, and by 1873 the order had ceased to exist.

Though the Ku-Klux Klan was short-lived it accomplished its purpose. Many of the negroes were so intimidated by it that they no longer took any part in politics. About the same time many southern white men, who had been denied all voice in the government because of their participation in rebellion, regained the right to vote. One by one the control of the southern states fell into the hands of their white inhabitants, and when the United States troops were finally withdrawn from the South in 1877, the last carpetbagger government disappeared. Because the carpetbaggers and negroes were Republicans, nearly all native white voters in the South became Democrats, and the South has continued solidly Democratic ever since the close of the reconstruction period.

The Growth of a New South.—By 1877 the work of political reconstruction was finished and the last carpetbagger had been driven from power. By that time the Union was fully reestablished and the white people of the southern states had recovered complete control of their local and state governments. But the task of rebuilding the ruined industries of the South, and of restoring business prosperity in that section, lasted a great deal longer. For ten or fifteen years after the return of peace in 1865, times were hard for many of the people in the states which had formed the Confederacy. Then better days began to dawn, and slowly there grew up under free labor a new and more prosperous South than the old slave times had ever known.

In the first years after the Civil War a few of the planters tried to work their plantations as they had before 1861. But most of them either had no money to hire labor, or found the work of the freedmen very unsatisfactory. In the course of

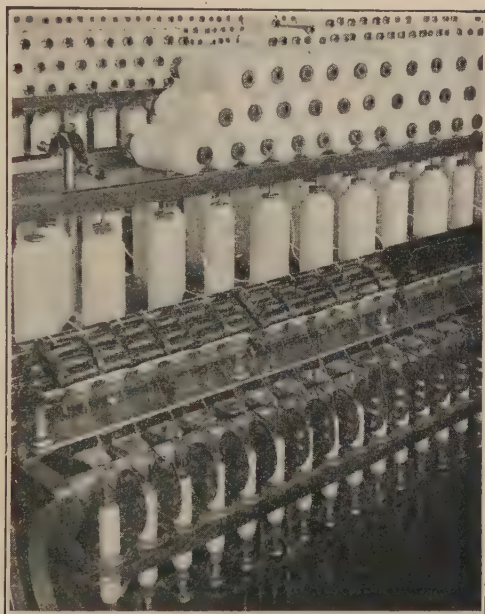
The white
race recovers
control

The solid
South

The recon-
struction of
industry

A change in
southern
farming

time most of the large plantations were broken up into small farms and sold or rented. The poor white men of the South who had never been able to compete with slave labor now began to buy land, and in time many of them became prosperous farmers. A few of the more thrifty negroes also became land-owners, but most negro farmers were "croppers," that is they raised cotton on rented land for a share of



From Underwood & Underwood, New York.
Ring Spinning-frames in a Cotton-mill

the crop. This system of farming is still widely prevalent in the cotton states. As years passed, more acres were brought under the plow, fertilizers were used, and better methods of cultivation were introduced, with the result that our country is now producing about three times as many bales of cotton annually as it ever did in a single year with slave labor.



Sugar-cane Growing

Before the Civil War, cotton, tobacco, and sugar were the staple crops of the South. But with smaller farms and the wider use of farm machinery agriculture began to be diversified. More corn was raised and

**Diversified
agriculture**

more domestic animals were kept. Some rice had been grown since colonial times in South Carolina. Now great quantities of it are raised in Louisiana and Texas. Florida is famous for its oranges and its grapefruit. The climate of the South Atlantic states is peculiarly favorable to the growth of vegetables of all kinds, and truck-farming is widely prevalent in them. The northern cities furnish a market for vast quantities of southern strawberries and watermelons long before these delicious

fruits ripen in the higher latitudes.

The New South is no longer a land of a single industry. The mountains which extend from Maryland to northern Georgia and Alabama are covered with splendid forests and underlaid with a wealth of coal and iron. Oil and gas abound in many places there. Their rivers provide abundant water-power which can be easily converted into electricity. One of the richest oil fields in America is located



Lumber, oil,
coal, and iron

From Underwood & Underwood, New York.
A Coal Miner at Work

in Oklahoma and Texas, and all the Gulf states are rich in timber. Phosphate rock of inestimable value for fertilizer is found in Tennessee, South Carolina, and Florida. The existence of most of these natural resources was well known before the Civil War, but their development was not seriously undertaken until a new industrial life, based upon free labor, began to grow up in the former slave states. Now the South mines its own coal and iron, while oil-wells dot the plains of Oklahoma and

Texas, and busy sawmills cut the pine of the Carolinas and Georgia and the cypress of Mississippi and Louisiana into the finest lumber.

With its wealth of such raw materials and sources of power, as cotton, timber, iron, coal, and water-power, the southern section of our country lacked only free labor and railroads in order to become a great manufacturing region. The Civil War set its labor free, and a few years later the South entered upon an era of rapid railroad building. Soon iron foundries and cotton-mills began to spring up as if by magic. By 1900 the Carolinas spun more than one-half of the cotton grown upon their plantations. Sleepy villages grew to be bustling towns, while Atlanta, Birmingham, Chattanooga, and Nashville became great manufacturing cities. Twenty years after the Civil War closed, Henry W. Grady, an eloquent Georgian, said, "We have found out that the free negro counts for more than he did as a slave. We have challenged your spinners in Massachusetts and your iron-workers in Pennsylvania. We have fallen in love with work."

The rise
of manufac-
turing in
the South

This marvelous growth of a New South has not been confined to business alone. Free public schools for both the white people and the negroes have been established in all the southern states, and illiteracy among both races has been greatly diminished. The old colleges and universities of the South have grown stronger, and many new ones have been founded. Higher schools for the negroes, like those at Hampton, Virginia, and Tuskegee, Alabama, have done a useful work. While part of the negroes are still in a backward condition, many of them have become intelligent and industrious citizens.

Progress in
education

The negroes in the South have acquired considerable property during their first half century of freedom, but for many years they have had little part in the political life of the country. After the carpetbagger governments were overthrown, the freedmen were kept from the polls by threats or cheated in counting the votes if they persisted in voting. After a time the best white men of the South saw that so much violence and fraud in elections was debasing their own race, and they resolved to disfranchise the negroes by lawful means. The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution said that the right to vote should not be denied "on account of race, color, or previous

The negroes
disfranchised

condition of servitude," but it did not forbid educational or property tests for voters. Since 1890 nearly all the southern states have deprived the mass of the negroes of the franchise by such tests. In some states the qualifications for voting have been so worded, that while applying to all negroes, they do not apply for the present to all white men.

Politics After the Civil War.—We have already noted how the Republicans in Congress quarreled with President Johnson

over the political reconstruction of the southern states and failed in their attempt to remove him from office by impeachment. The Republicans eagerly looked forward to the election of 1868 because it would give them a chance to choose a president in sympathy with their policy in the South. When the time came they unanimously nominated General Grant for the presidency, and his popularity as the hero of the Civil War made him an easy victor over Horatio Seymour of New York, his Democratic opponent.



© Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

Ulysses S. Grant

Grant was one of the greatest generals in our history, but his years in the White House added nothing to his fame. He carried out the ruthless reconstruction policy of his party, but before the close of his first term, many Republicans began to question the wisdom of that policy and to cherish a kinder feeling for the long-suffering people of the South. Other Republicans were dissatisfied with the high tariff which had been imposed during the war and wanted to reduce it, and still others were eager to attack the evils of the spoils system which had been growing steadily

The election
of 1868

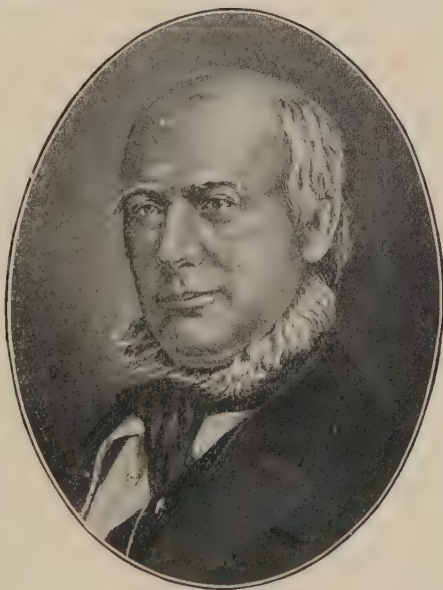
The "Liberal
Republican"
movement

worse ever since the days of Andrew Jackson. In 1872 all these discontented elements called themselves "Liberal Republicans," and tried to form a new party. The Democrats joined them in nominating Horace Greeley, the editor of the New York *Tribune*, for president. Greeley was one of the greatest editors that our country has ever had, but he was visionary and unpractical, and lacked nearly every qualification for the presidency. He was easily beaten by Grant, who was renominated by the regular Republicans.

Grant's second term in the presidency was even less creditable than his first. The years of carpetbagger misrule in the South were a time of much dishonesty in the political life of the whole nation. The governments of many of the rapidly growing northern cities fell into the hands of ignorant and corrupt politicians. In New York a gang of such men, led by "Boss" Tweed, controlled the government for some years and robbed the city of millions of dollars. President Grant was as honest a man as

ever lived, but he was a poor judge of men and more than one unworthy politician imposed on him and secured an appointment to office. The misdeeds of some of these corrupt public servants resulted in several political scandals during Grant's second term in the presidency. Even his secretary of war was impeached for accepting bribes. These dishonest practices of some officials injured the Republican party, and the Democrats won the House of Representatives in 1874 and cherished high hopes of electing the next president.

In 1876 the Republicans nominated Governor Rutherford



Horace Greeley

Corrupt
politics in
Grant's ad-
ministration

The disputed
election of
1876

B. Hayes of Ohio for the presidency. Samuel J. Tilden of New York was the Democratic candidate. Hayes was a quiet but able and honest man who had been a brave general in the Civil War. Tilden was a brilliant lawyer who had won fame by the successful prosecution of the notorious "Tweed Ring" in New York City. The election was very close. Tilden had one hundred and eighty-four undisputed electoral votes and a decided majority of the popular vote. Both parties claimed to



Rutherford B. Hayes

have carried the states of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. If the electoral votes of all these states were counted for Hayes he would have one hundred and eighty-five and would be elected. The two houses in Congress could not agree as to which were the rightful votes from the three states in question, and finally the matter was left to an Electoral Commission composed of five senators, five members of the House of Representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court. It hap-

The
Electoral
Commission

pened that eight members of the Electoral Commission were Republicans and that seven were Democrats, and by a vote of eight to seven it decided that the Republicans had carried all the disputed states. By this narrow margin Hayes became president in 1877.

The French
in Mexico

Our Relations with Foreign Countries.--The years when our country was just recovering from the shock of the Civil War were a critical period in our relations with other nations. Shortly after the war began in 1861, France, England, and Spain, joined in sending troops to Mexico to protect the rights

of their people in that country. As soon as their purpose was accomplished, England and Spain withdrew; but Napoleon III, the ruler of France, overthrew the Republic of Mexico, and set up an empire in its stead. He placed Maximilian, the brother of the emperor of Austria, on the throne, and maintained his authority with French bayonets. This action was a serious violation of the Monroe Doctrine, but with a civil war on its hands, the United States could do nothing at the time but protest. When the war was over in 1865 our government told Napoleon III in the plainest words that the United States would not tolerate a foreign monarchy in Mexico and that he must



The Alaska Purchase of 1867

withdraw his troops from that country. A large army under General Sheridan was sent toward the Mexican frontier, and Napoleon soon promised to withdraw his forces. When the last French soldiers left Mexico in 1867, the Mexicans promptly captured the Emperor Maximilian and executed him.

The Monroe Doctrine maintained

The same year that the French withdrew from Mexico Russia unexpectedly offered to sell Alaska to the United States, and Secretary Seward promptly accepted the proposition. Not much was known of this vast northern region at that time, but it was supposed to be a barren waste of little value except for its fur trade. Some people found fault with the government for buying a "vast area of rocks and ice," but as Russia had been a warm friend of the Union during the Civil

The purchase of Alaska

War there was little serious objection to ratifying the treaty of purchase. In acquiring Alaska we made a better bargain than we knew, for its furs, fish, gold, coal, and timber are worth many times the \$7,200,000 which we paid Russia for the country.

We have seen how the *Alabama* and other commerce-destroying cruisers built in England for the Confederacy inflicted great damage upon American shipping during the Civil War. The United States declared that Great Britain

The
"Alabama
Claims"



The Arbitration Court at Geneva
Where the "Alabama Claims" were settled by a tribunal of five men

had violated her neutrality in permitting these ships to be built for the South, and insisted that she ought to pay for the damage which they did. For some years the British government refused to listen to this demand, but in 1871 the two nations made a treaty at Washington in which it was agreed that the "Alabama Claims," as they were called, should be submitted to arbitration. A tribunal of five men—one appointed by the United States, one appointed by Great Britain, and one each by Switzerland, Italy, and Brazil, met at Geneva, Switzerland, and after listening to arguments by both sides decided that Great Britain should pay the United States \$15,500,000

The Geneva
award

for the losses our ship-owners suffered from the *Alabama* and other cruisers. This decision was very unpopular in England, but the British government promptly paid the money. By arbitrating the "Alabama Claims," and other disputes then and since, Great Britain and the United States have shown the world that there is a better way than war to settle differences between nations.

REFERENCES.

Wilson, *Division and Reunion; A History of the United States*, Vol. V; Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vols. V-VII; Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*; Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. Conditions in the South after the Civil War. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 445-458.
2. The Contrast between Lincoln and Johnson. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 516-522.
3. The Story of Johnson's Impeachment. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VI, 98-157.
4. The Carpetbaggers and the Scalawags in Dixie. Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, III, 130.
5. Carpetbag Government in South Carolina. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, IV, 497-500.
6. The Ku-Klux Klan. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VI, 180-185.
7. The New South. Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, 747-772.
8. The Liberal Republican Movement. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VI, 411-440.
9. The Iniquities of the "Tweed Ring" in New York. Hart, *Source Book of American History*, 352-355.
10. The Electoral Commission. Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*, 323-341.
11. The French in Mexico. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VI, 205-211.
12. The Alabama Case. Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, 87-95.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Novels: Tourgée, *A Fool's Errand*; *Bricks without Straw*; Page, *Red Rock*; Garland, *The Return of the Private* (in *Main Traveled Roads*); Cable, *John March, Southerner*; Glasgow, *The Deliverance*; Dixon, *The Leopard's Spots*; *The Clansman*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. If there are any old soldiers of the Civil War still living in your community ask one of them to tell you how he was mustered out at the close of the war. Compare the home-coming of the soldiers in 1865 with the return of our men from Europe in 1919.
2. Look up Lincoln's plan for reorganizing the southern states. What was the chief difference between the Lincoln-Johnson plan of reconstruction and the plan enacted by Congress? Which was the wiser plan? Why?
3. What did the thirteenth amendment do for the negro? The fourteenth? The fifteenth?
4. Were the deeds of the Ku-Klux-Klan right? Is it ever right to break the law in order to accomplish a good purpose? Why?
5. Why has the South been solid for the Democratic party ever since the Civil War? Has this "Solid South" been a good thing for the nation? Why?
6. In what ways did the abolition of slavery benefit the poor white men of the South?
7. Locate on the map ten important manufacturing cities in the South. What is the chief product made in each of them?
8. Would we have had a right to expel the French troops from Mexico by force? Why?
9. Try to find other instances of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration besides the one described in this chapter.
10. Question for debate: Resolved, That the right to vote ought to be restricted to those citizens who can read and write.

CHAPTER XXIV

NEW WAYS OF WORKING AND LIVING

The Age of Machinery.—In an earlier chapter of this book we studied how the Industrial Revolution, as the transition from hand labor to machine production is called, wrought great changes in our ways of making things and in our mode of life. We saw how manufacturing was steadily transferred from the home and the small shop to the factory, how cities grew up around these factories, and how the men engaged in industry began to be divided into capitalists and laborers, each striving for a larger share of what they jointly produced. While these changes in the industrial life of our country began more than a century ago, they have been going on during the last fifty years more rapidly than ever before, and most of the important questions in our later history have grown out of them.

The
Industrial
Revolution

An English traveler who visited the United States in 1865 was astonished at the way in which Americans were making machines to do all kinds of work. "We find," he said, "a machine even to peel apples; another to beat eggs; a third to clean knives; a fourth to wring clothes." This American spirit of invention has been more active than ever in recent years. It has given us machines to milk cows, to dig ditches, to sweep floors, to record sales, to add columns of figures, and to do a thousand other things which were done by hand in the days of the Civil War.

Machines for
every
purpose

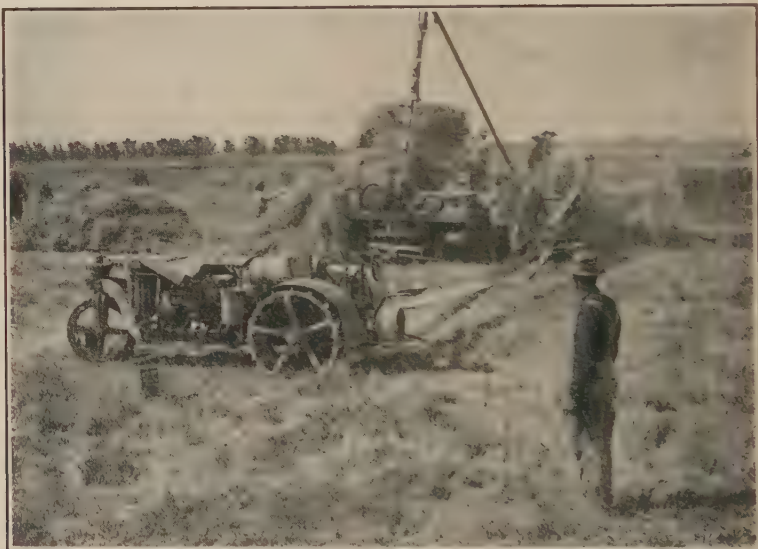
This ever-widening use of machinery is found in every department of our industrial life. For the last half century the invention of new agricultural tools and machines has gradually freed farm life of much of the hard work of earlier days. The progressive farmer now plows his fields with a sulky plow, fertilizes them with the aid of a manure-spreader, plants the seed with a drill, cultivates the growing crops with a riding cultivator, and harvests the grain with a self-binding harvester. The threshing-machine, the cotton-gin, and the corn-husker prepare the various crops for market. The mower, the hay-tedder, the horse-rake, the hay-loader, and the horse-fork do

Farming

the heavy work in haymaking. On many farms, pumping water, sawing wood, cutting fodder, shelling corn, making butter, and many other things which were once done slowly and laboriously by hand, are now done quickly and easily by machinery.

But it is in manufacturing that machinery has come to reign supreme. Here the human hand now does little but guide the material to the machine, while the work is done by the tireless energy of steam or electricity. The various spinning-machines and power-looms, whose introduction began the revo-

Manufacturing



From Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Baling Hay on Irrigated Land in Arizona

lution in the textile industry one hundred and fifty years ago, have been greatly improved by more modern inventors. Nearly every article of clothing that we wear is made by a machine. Other machines make pins, screws, nails, and many other household necessities in countless numbers. Simple old-time tools like the shovel, the hammer, and the plane have been greatly enlarged and driven by steam. New tools have been invented for almost every conceivable purpose, and then machines have been made to make these tools.

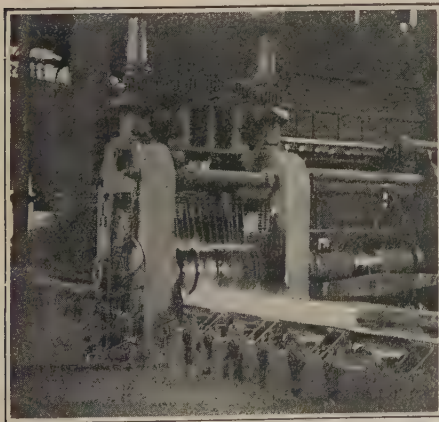
Nor has this marvelous development in the use of machinery been limited to the farm and the factory. The business office is equipped with dictaphones and typewriters. Type is set by **Business** machines, and daily

papers are printed upon presses which print, cut, paste, fold, and count sixty thousand sixteen-page papers in a single hour. The paper upon which the news is printed is made of wood which passes through great pulp mills and paper mills on its way from the forest to the printing-house.



From Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Electric Milking-machines at Work

The phonograph, the stereopticon, and the moving-picture machine have their part in the amusement and the education of the people.



Courtesy of Federal Shipbuilding Co.
Making Steel
Hot bars passing through the rolling-mill.

The general use of machinery in every line of industry has created an enormous demand for the iron and steel out of which most of the machines are made. Fortunately our country is very rich in deposits of iron ore. But it would be difficult to utilize this wealth of ore without the help of machinery. Steam shovels load it upon the cars

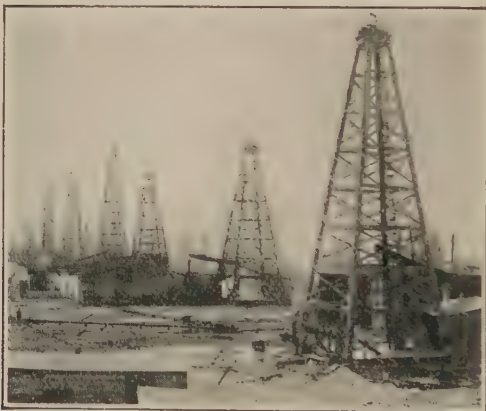
Iron and steel

or boats which carry it from the mines to the mills. In the iron and steel mills great blast-furnaces reduce the ore to pig-

iron, some of which is converted into steel by other processes. Powerful machines draw the steel into rods or roll it into sheets. In recent years great quantities of steel have been used in building ships, railroads, bridges, and for the framework of buildings. Hoisting machines and traveling cranes are used in handling this heavy structural material. Truly, the latest years of our history may well be called the age of machinery.

New Sources of Power.—But the modern age of machinery would have been impossible without power to drive the machines. Many small tools and machines are worked by hand and most agricultural implements are still drawn by horses.

Early
sources of
power



Bryant Studio, Fort Worth, Texas
A Texas Oil Field

Each derrick covers an oil-well from which the oil is pumped through pipe-lines to the refinery

but from the first the machinery in factories was run by water power or by the steam-engine, and steam still drives the wheels of most of our factories and locomotives. At first, wood was used as fuel for the steam-engine, but coal gradually took its place, and for many years the coal miner has provided the source of the

greater part of the power which has made possible our manufactures and our commerce. About forty years ago, petroleum, natural gas, and electricity began to be used to run machinery. Now they rival coal as sources of power, and they are destined to play a still larger part in the industrial life of the future.

The first oil-well in the United States was bored in north-western Pennsylvania in 1859. Since then, petroleum, or coal-oil, has been found in nearly every section of the country. The oil fields of Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and California are especially rich. By the process of refining, the crude petroleum is separated into kerosene, gasoline, and many other useful

Oil and gas

substances. The kerosene lamp came into use soon after petroleum was put upon the market, and the gasoline stove a few years later. From the beginning natural gas was frequently found in boring for oil, but at first it was allowed to go to waste. After 1870 it began to be used for heating houses and lighting streets, and some years later as a fuel in mills and factories. Crude petroleum is now coming into use as fuel in locomotives and steamships.

After experimenting for more than a century, European inventors made the first practical gas-engine about fifty years ago. The first successful one in the United States was built in 1873, and these engines have been constantly improved and increasingly used since that time. In the gas-engine the explosion or very rapid burning of a mixture of gas and air in the cylinder drives a piston which turns the wheels. The gas burned comes from gasoline, though alcohol can be used for the same purpose. The gas-engine has several decided advantages over the steam engine. It is simpler, safer, cleaner, can be started without tedious preparation, and can be operated by those who lack the knowledge and skill to run a steam-engine. The gas-engine has a great variety of uses in factories and upon farms. Because of its small size and light weight it is especially fitted to furnish the motive power for driving automobiles, trucks, motor boats, and aëroplanes.

The gas-engine

Electricity is the most important of the new sources of power. We have seen how Samuel Morse's electric telegraph was invented in 1837. In 1866 Cyrus W. Field, after years of patient effort, succeeded in establishing permanent telegraphic communication between Europe and America. A few years later the dynamo, a machine for making electricity cheaply and on a large scale, came into use in America. It was soon found that the new force could be utilized in many ways. It was first extensively used for lighting purposes. In 1879 Thomas A. Edison gave us the first practical incandescent light. At that time gas made from coal had taken the place of the kerosene lamp for illuminating purposes in cities, but since then wherever the electric light is available it has steadily displaced all other methods of artificial lighting. About the time the electric light began to be used, Alexander Graham Bell invented the electric telephone. It quickly came into common use, and in

The age of electricity

a few years men were talking from city to city. In 1899 an Italian named William Marconi brought to America a device for sending telegraph messages through the air, and three years later the first wireless message was flashed across the Atlantic. In 1885 the first electric trolley lines were built, and fifteen years later it would have been difficult to find a street-car drawn by horses in any American city. Soon electric railways were con-



Thomas A. Edison
The greatest inventor of modern times.

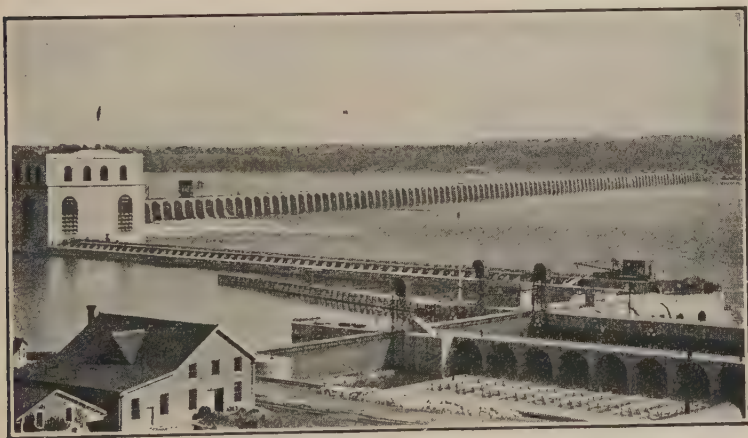
structed from town to town, and recently electric locomotives began to be used on the railroads. Electric motors are also used in automobiles and for driving machinery in factories. The dynamos for generating electricity are driven by steam or gas-engines or by water power. Our supply of water power is almost unlimited, and it is certain to be more and more widely used in the form of electricity in the future. Electric power has the peculiar advantage that it can be easily carried long distances by wire to the place where it is needed. It seems

probable that the twentieth century will be called the age of electricity.

An Age of Railroads.—We have called the last fifty years of our history the age of machinery. It is just as truly an age of railroads. The ever-increasing products of our farms and factories, due in large part to the constantly widening use of new labor-saving machinery, would have little value if we did not have enough railroads to distribute them among the people of our own country or to carry them to the seaports from which they can be sent to foreign markets. There were about

The develop-
ment of our
railroads

thirty thousand miles of railroad in the United States in 1860. The Civil War did much to show our people their need of more and better facilities for transportation, and when peace came in 1865, they quickly turned their attention to this problem. The earlier railroads, many of which were short, were joined together to form great railway systems, so that for the first time it became possible to take long journeys without changing cars. New roads were built so rapidly that by 1880 the railway mileage of the country was more than three times as great as it had been when the Civil War began.



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

Power Dam and Locks in the Mississippi River at Keokuk, Iowa

The greatest undertaking of the years just after the Civil War was the building of the first railroad across the continent. Ever since the gold seekers rushed to California in 1849 men had dreamed of a railroad to join the Pacific Coast to the East. In 1862 Congress encouraged two private companies to undertake the gigantic task of building such a road by lending them large sums of money and giving them vast tracts of land along the line of the proposed roadway. The first rails were laid on this road in 1864 and after the war the work progressed more rapidly. One company worked westward up the valley of the Platte River and the other eastward across the Sierra Nevada Mountains. With infinite patience and great skill both com-

The first
railroad
across the
continent

panies pushed steadily forward across deserts and over the passes of the Rocky Mountains until they met near Ogden, Utah, where the driving of a golden spike in May, 1869, marked the completion of the greatest feat of American engineering in the nineteenth century. In later years other railroads were built across the western mountains until now at least seven lines of steel bind the Far West to the rest of the country.

For some years after the Civil War prices were high, money was plentiful, and men were tempted to engage in all sorts of



The Joining of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads

This event marked the completion of the first transcontinental railroad system.

The panic of 1873 new enterprises in the hope of getting rich quickly. Much of this speculation was done with borrowed money, and when the high prices of war times fell, the people found it more and more difficult to pay their debts. The new railroads had been largely built with borrowed money, and at first some of them, especially in the West, did not have income enough to pay the interest on what they owed. Under these circumstances their bonds fell in value, and it became difficult to sell them. The greatest banking house in the country, that of Jay Cooke & Co., held great quantities of such bonds, and when it could not sell them it had to close its doors because it could not pay its debts.

RAILROADS

OF THE

UNITED STATES

SCALE OF MILES

0 100 200 300 400

110

Longitude

100

West

from

90

Greenwich

80



This failure marked the beginning of the disastrous panic of 1873. Soon other banks closed, business houses failed, factories were shut up, and many men were thrown out of work. Railroad building almost ceased during this period of hard times.

As the country recovered from the effects of the panic of 1873 the building of new railroads was resumed, and it has gone steadily forward ever since. Our ninety-three thousand miles of railroad in 1880 had doubled by 1900, and within two decades about 75,000 additional miles of track had been added to the

Improvements in transportation



A Trunk-line Railroad

railroads of the United States. The improvement of railway service has kept pace with the growth in mileage. Parlor, dining, and sleeping cars add to the comfort of travel, and the air-brake and other inventions of George Westinghouse have greatly increased the safety of fast trains. The refrigerator car makes it possible to send vegetables, fruit, meat, and other perishable products long distances to market. The work of the railroads in handling the bulk of the enormous inland commerce of our country is supplemented by coastwise ships which ply from port to port, by vessels which carry vast quantities of ore,

wheat, and lumber on the great lakes, by numerous interurban trolley lines, and later by motor trucks which carry freight upon the public highways.

The
expansion of
industry

Our Growing Wealth.—The last fifty years have witnessed a marvelous expansion in every line of industry in America. Every section of our country has shared in this growth. The factories of the eastern and middle states have made more goods than ever before. A more diversified industry under a system of free labor has brought prosperity in a flood to the New South. The wheat, corn, hogs, and cattle of the prairie

states have been pouring to market in an ever widening stream. The rich mineral resources of the Rocky Mountains have been revealed. Enterprise and industry have changed the Pacific Coast from a region of rough mining camps to a land of fertile grain fields, fruitful orchards, and splendid cities.



Courtesy of Anaconda Copper Mining Co.

A Copper Mine in Butte, Montana

America leads the world in the production of copper.

Our
enormous
wealth

The unparalleled industrial activity and expansion of the last half century have piled up wealth in our country beyond anything

ever known before in the history of the world. The United States, "with seven per cent. of the earth's area and six per cent. of its population, produces seventy per cent. of the corn, sixty per cent. of the cotton, thirty-five per cent. of the tobacco, and fifteen per cent. of the cattle. It leads in the production of coal, petroleum, copper, and iron." The total wealth of the country is now more than two hundred billion dollars, and it is growing by many billions every year.

The rate of
industrial
progress

A careful study of the figures opposite will give a vivid impression of the wonderful industrial progress of the United States since the Civil War. In that table the numbers are all millions.

The progress of the United States in industry and the arts has been shown and wonderfully stimulated by the splendid displays of farm products, machinery, manufacturing goods, and the fine arts in the great expositions or world's fairs which have been held at various times since the Civil War. The first of these was the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876. Other notable fairs of this kind were the Columbian Exposition or World's Fair at Chicago in 1893, the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo in 1901, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St.

World's
Fair



A Scene at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Held in San Francisco, California

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Millions of population.....	39	50	63	76	92	106
Thousands of miles of railroad.....	52	93	166	194	244	266
Value of farm products in millions....	\$1,958	\$2,212	\$2,460	\$3,764	\$8,900	\$24,982 (1919)
Value of manufactured goods in millions	\$4,232	\$5,369	\$9,372	\$13,014	\$20,600	\$5,238
Value of imports in millions.....	\$435	\$667	\$789	\$849	\$1,356	\$8,111
Value of exports in millions.....	\$392	\$835	\$857	\$1,394	\$1,744	\$6,100 (1918)
Tons of steel made in millions.....	....	1	4	10	26	44 (1918)
Tons of coal mined in millions.....	29	63	140	240	411	685 (1918)
Gals. of petroleum produced in millions	220	1,104	1,924	2,672	7,649	13,800 (1918)

Louis in 1904, the Alaska-Yukon Exposition at Seattle in 1909, and the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco in 1915.

The reasons for the rapid industrial development of our country in its later years are not hard to find. The United States is a vast and greatly diversified land. Nature has given it a rich soil, clothed it with splendid forests, and hidden beneath its surface immense supplies of coal, iron, copper, and oil. But the greatest reason for our unparalleled material prosperity is found in the character of the American people—in their intelligence, energy, inventive genius, daring enterprise, and eager absorption in business.

Reasons
for our
industrial
growth



The Old Way

When one man performed by hand all the operations necessary to make a pair of shoes.

Changes in Our Mode of Life.—The changes in industry during the last half century have influenced our ways of living even more than they have promoted our material progress and prosperity. In the days when men manufactured goods in their own small shops, each workman who made a pair of shoes, or a wagon, or a watch planned the thing he was to make, fashioned all its parts, and then fitted them together to form the finished product. His daily task made him a more intelligent, thoughtful, and self-reliant man. With the coming of the large factory all this was changed. The use of machinery brought division of labor. The factory worker spends his days in operating a machine which may perform only one small part in turning

Our people
become
machine
workers

out the completed article. Many of the machines are so simple that women and children can run them quite as well and more cheaply than men; and consequently large numbers of women and children have come to be employed in factories. Running simple machines for long hours every day tends to make mere machines of those who do it. If the large number of our people who now work in factories are to be as good men and women as

their ancestors were, they must have a short working day and wide opportunities for recreation and education to offset the deadening effect of their monotonous round of daily toil.

The transition from hand labor to machine production



The New Way

Under the factory plan a worker performs but one operation in making the complete article.

has also wrought great changes in life on the American farm. In earlier days the farmer and the members of his family—in addition to planting, cultivating, and harvesting the crops and caring for the domestic animals—churned butter, made cheese, canned or dried fruit and vegetables, slaughtered animals and cured meat, and made many of the tools and utensils used upon the farm or in the house. The boys and girls knew how to do many different kinds of work, because the old-time farm was a great school of manual training. The village shoemaker, the blacksmith, and the neighboring gristmill and sawmill furnished the farmer with most of the necessities of life that he could not make for himself.

Old-time
farm life

**Present-day
farming**

The rapid development of the Industrial Revolution in the twentieth century has nearly destroyed the old-time farm life. The creameries and cheese factories, the great meat-packing establishments of Chicago, Kansas City, and Omaha, and the mills and machine shops of a hundred cities have taken over household industries. Shoes, flour, and lumber no longer come from village shops and mills but from the shoe factories of Massachusetts, the flour-mills of Minneapolis, and the sawmills of the Gulf States and of the Far Northwest. The farmer no longer tries to produce everything that his family needs, but



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Lumber Mills at Ione, Washington

devotes himself to growing the staple crops best adapted to his soil and his market. These he sells for money, with which he buys the various necessities of life. As a result of this change each section of the country has developed the kind of farming for which it is best fitted: truck growing on the Atlantic Coast,

dairying near the great cities, the raising of cotton in the South, and the growing of winter wheat, corn, and live stock in the Middle West, and of spring wheat in Minnesota and the Dakotas.

**The growth
of cities**

While a large part of the work of making things has been going from the farm and the village shop to the factory, many farmers' sons and daughters have been following it in order to secure employment. At the same time many newcomers from Europe have settled in the manufacturing towns where they found the greatest demand for their labor. As a result of these movements, many factory towns have grown to be large cities during the last fifty years. When the Civil War began, fully five-sixths of the American people were country dwellers; now less than one-half of them live on farms. The building of street-

car lines, elevated railroads and subways, and the increasing use of automobiles have quickened the growth of cities by enabling people to live at greater distances from their work in stores, offices, and factories. Where it has not been easy for cities to expand over more territory they have grown up into the air by erecting "skyscraper" buildings from twenty to fifty stories high.

The factories have vastly multiplied and cheapened goods of every kind, and the railroads have made it possible to distribute them to all parts of the country. We have a far greater variety of food and many more comforts and conveniences in our homes than people enjoyed fifty years ago. In many instances the people of our growing cities have provided themselves with beautiful parks, public libraries, and hospitals; while theaters, music halls, and moving-picture shows offer them amusement at every turn. At the same time, free rural mail delivery, the inter-urban trolley car, the telephone, and the automobile have been bringing country people nearer together and making life on the farm far less lonesome than it was a generation or two ago.

General
social
progress



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.
Woolworth Building, New York
The tallest office building in the world.

REFERENCES.

Thompson, *History of the United States*; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*; Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*; Sparks, *National Development*; Dewey, *National Problems*; Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. Invention and Discovery. Sparks, *National Development*, 37-52.
2. The Progress of the Country. Dewey, *National Problems*, 3-20.
3. The Growth of Agriculture. Thompson, *History of the United States*, 410-419.
4. The Growth of Manufacturing. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, 408-417, 424-427.
5. The Advantages of the United States as a Manufacturing Nation. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, 426-431.
6. How Steel Is Made. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, 442-444.
7. The Telephone, the Electric Light, and the Electric Motor. Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, 671-678.
8. The First Railway across the Continent. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*, 324-339.
9. The Centennial Exposition. Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, 195-200.
10. The World's Fair at Chicago. Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, 633-662.
11. Life in the Country. Thompson, *History of the United States*, 422-426.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Whittier, *Centennial Hymn*; Bryant, *Centennial Hymn*, Holmes, *Welcome to the Nations*; Taylor, *The National Ode*.

Novels: Carr, *The Iron Way*; Bisland, *A Candle of Understanding*, Grey, *The U. P. Trail*; White, *The Blazed Trail*; *The Riverman*.

Autobiography: Garland, *A Son of the Middle Border*.

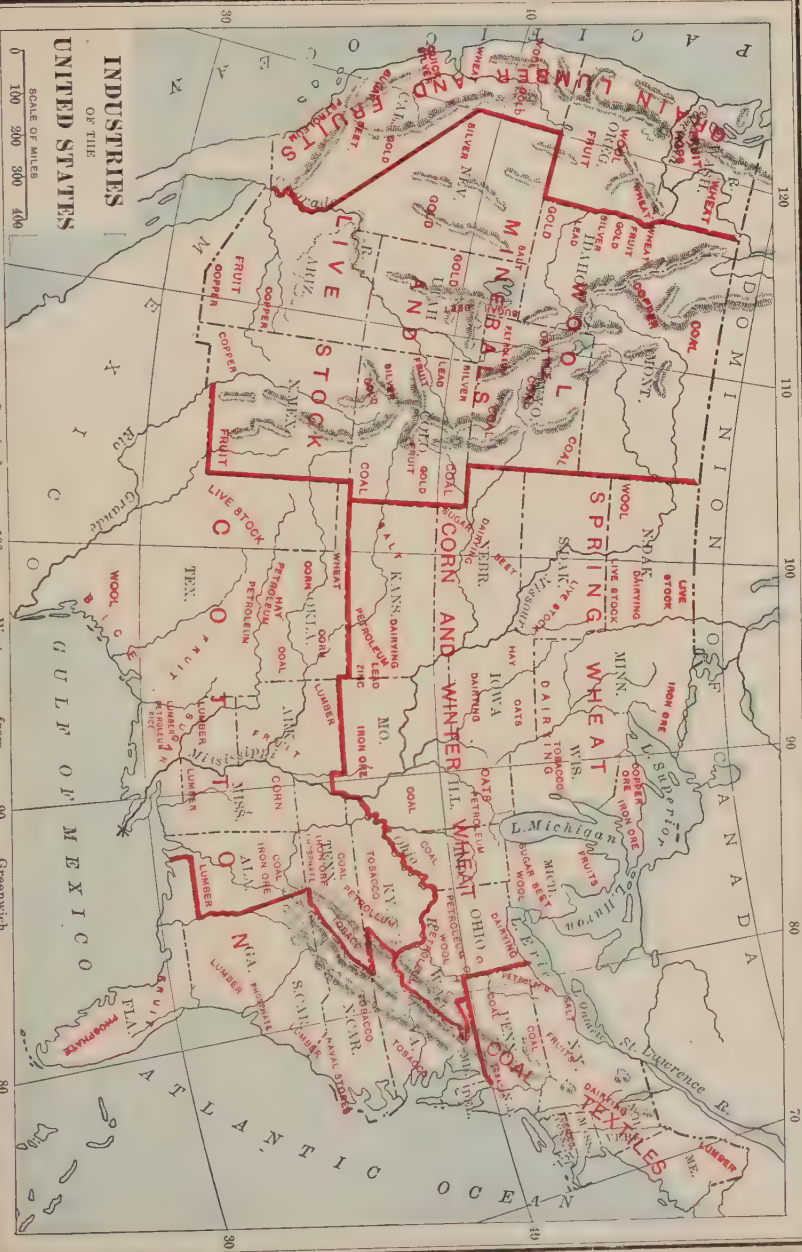
QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. Make a list of all the labor-saving machines used in your own home. How many of the farm tools and machines named in this chapter have you ever seen in use?
2. Where does the wood used in making paper come from? How is steel made? Locate the chief coal fields in the United States.
3. What are the chief inventions made by Thomas A. Edison? What are the special advantages of wireless telegraphy? Do you know any places where electricity is made by water-power?
4. Find on a map the chief transcontinental railroads of the present time. How does the railroad mileage of the United States compare with that of Europe?

INDUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400

Longitude 110 100 West from Greenwich 90 80



5. How do you account for the great increase in the output of petroleum between 1900 and 1910? What effect did the Great War in Europe between 1914 and 1918 have upon our exports?

6. Would you prefer to work on a farm or in a factory? Why? What other reasons than the desire for better wages lead men to move from the country into the city?

7. What are the chief manufacturing interests in your home city or in the city nearest to your home? What are the chief products raised on the farms of your state?

8. What conveniences in our homes have come into general use during the last fifty years?

CHAPTER XXV

THE VANISHING FRONTIER

†

The making
of our
country

The Conquest of the Continent.—The history of our country began when little bands of Europeans first gained a foothold upon the eastern coast of America three hundred years ago. Behind these first settlements there lay a vast untamed continent. Pushing ever westward, our people have steadily conquered the wilderness, clearing away the forests, cultivating the fields, opening the mines, building roads, and laying the foundations of towns and cities. During the last fifty years this conquest of the continent has been completed. It is no longer possible for a young man to go west, settle upon cheap public land, and grow up with the country. The frontier in the United States has disappeared forever. Before we read the last chapter in its history let us briefly review the story of the long and heroic westward march of the American pioneer.

Westward
march of
the pioneer

The Appalachian mountain system confined the colonists to the Atlantic seaboard for more than a century. Just before the Revolution, Boone, Robertson, and other bold frontiersmen, led the vanguard of a swarm of pioneers through the gaps of the Alleghanies into the forest lands in the upper valleys of the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Ohio. These hardy backwoodsmen and the steady stream of settlers which followed where they showed the way, built log cabins, fought the Indians, set up new governments, and in the course of time, added to the young nation the great states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio.

Occupying
the
Mississippi
Valley

Year after year the restless and the ambitious sought their fortunes in the West. Just after the War of 1812 a great wave of pioneers poured into the Mississippi Valley. The wheat and corn lands of the North and the cotton fields of the South began to be developed. Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri were admitted into the Union between 1816 and 1821. During the next thirty years the other great agricultural states in the heart of the Mississippi Valley were occupied, and American pioneers crossed the border into Texas, which they won from Mexico and at last added to the United States.

In the meantime, roving fur traders, devoted missionaries, and adventurous army officers were finding the best trails across the continent. Soon after 1840 a few pioneers began to make their way to the attractive lands in western Oregon, and the discovery of gold in 1848 caused a rush of settlers to the Pacific Coast. California entered the Union in 1850, and Oregon became a state before the Civil War began.

Winning the
Far West

For a long time the vast region between Missouri and California was believed to be a land of dry plains and barren moun-



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

A Silver Mining Camp Nestled in the Mountains of Nevada

tains, and was called the great American desert. But this supposed desert has been found to contain much fertile farm land, pasturage for unnumbered cattle and sheep, great forests of the finest timber, and a wealth of minerals of almost every sort. The story of the occupation and the development of the great plains and of the Rocky Mountain region is the last chapter in the history of the pioneer in the United States.

Myth of the
great
American
desert

The Growth of Mining in the Rocky Mountain Region.—

We have seen how the discovery of gold drew great numbers of

Prospectors
for gold

men to the Pacific Coast. Before long some of these men began to wonder if the precious metal which they sought might not be found in the vast mountain ranges which they had crossed on their way to the Californian gold fields. Lured by this thought, venturesome men wandered far and wide through the western mountains in search of gold. Most of these prospectors found little but hardship and disappointment, but here and

there a few of them located deposits of gold, silver, and other valuable metals.

In 1859 a rich deposit of silver was found in the western part of the present state of Nevada. When the news of this discovery reached California a throng of miners rushed across the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Presently gold was found in the same locality, and in later years rich gold deposits were discovered at various places in Nevada. About the time that the first mining camps were established in Nevada, gold was discovered near the present site of Denver and soon



Doubleday, Page & Co., N. Y.
Panning Gold

Only a few simple and inexpensive tools are needed for this kind of mining.

rich finds were made at other places in Colorado. The report of this discovery started a new rush across the plains, much like that of the "Forty-niners" to California. The discovery of another rich gold field on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains in 1861 led to the rapid development of the mining town of Helena in Montana. Sooner or later, prospectors found the precious metals in all the Rocky Mountain territories, and in 1874 gold

New gold
fields
developed

was discovered in the Black Hills in the southwestern corner of South Dakota. The more recent finding of rich gold deposits in the Klondike region and at Cape Nome in Alaska has attracted swarms of treasure hunters to that northern land.

The first gold found in the West was mingled with sand and gravel which the streams had carried down from the mountains and deposited in the valleys. The miner put this gold-bearing earth into a pan with water, and shook the pan. As the particles of gold were many times heavier than the rest of the material they sank to the bottom of the pan where it was easy for the miner to gather them. Nuggets, or pieces of gold of considerable size, were sometimes found. A man needed only a few simple and inexpensive tools to engage in this kind of mining for himself. Gold, silver, and other metals were later found in veins of rock in the mountains. This rock was dug out of mines which were often hundreds or thousands of feet deep. There are various ways of extracting the metals from the ore taken from the mines. In some cases it is crushed into powder by powerful stamping machinery, and then the metal is extracted from the powdered rock by chemical processes. In other cases the ore is put through a blast furnace in a plant called a smelter, and the metals are separated by means of heat. As a great deal of money is needed to buy the expensive machinery used in operating the mines and in extracting the metals from the ore, this kind of mining soon fell into the hands of great mining companies for whom the actual miners worked for wages. Great stamp-mills and smelters may now be seen at Denver and Pueblo, Colorado, at Anaconda, Montana, and at many other mining centers in the Rocky Mountain states.

How gold
is mined

The early mining camps of the Far West grew like mushroom-rooms, and the life in them was always rough and sometimes lawless. A visitor to one of these camps describes its appearance in the following words: "Frame shanties pitched together as if by accident; tents of canvas, of blankets, of brush, of potato sacks, and old shirts, with empty whiskey barrels for chimneys; smoking hovels of mud and stone; pits and shanties with smoke issuing from every crevice; piles of goods and rubbish on craggy points, in the hollows, on the rocks, in the mud, in the snow—everywhere—scattered broadcast in pell-mell confusion." Sometimes a mining field was disappointing.

Western
mining
camps

and then such camps vanished almost as quickly as they came; but when the new mines proved to be permanently profitable, law and order were soon established, more substantial houses were built, and the rude camp grew into a thriving town.

Pack-trains
and freight-
ers' wagons

The early Rocky Mountain mining camps were far away from the settled parts of the country, and at first their growth was hampered by the lack of facilities for transportation. The prospectors and early miners carried their tools and supplies upon packhorses, but the establishment of permanent settlements at once created a demand for a regular freight service to bring in food and other needed supplies and to carry the output of the mines to market. Soon, men began to engage in the business of hauling goods from points on the Missouri River, in western Missouri or eastern Kansas, to the new mining camps in the Rocky Mountains. Long caravans of covered wagons, each drawn by several yoke of oxen, continued to be the freight trains of the plains until the first transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869.

The overland
stage and the
pony express

Ever since the first rush of settlers to California the need of a quicker mail and passenger service to the Pacific Coast than that by way of Panama or the longer sea route around Cape Horn had been keenly felt. When mining towns began to spring up in the mountain country this need became greater than ever, and by 1860 overland stagecoaches were carrying passengers and the news of the East from Missouri River points to California in less than twenty-five days. But California wanted a faster mail service than this, and early in 1860 the pony express was established to carry letters across the continent. With the mail in light saddlebags, riders on relays of fleet horses rode day and night, through rain and snow, across the plains and over the dangerous mountain trails. The horses were changed every few miles and the riders at longer intervals. On one occasion a boy named William F. Cody, who was later known to the whole country as Buffalo Bill, rode three hundred and twenty miles without resting. The best time made by the pony express from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Sacramento, California, was a few hours less than eight days. When the first overland telegraph line was ready for business in 1861, the pony express service was given up, but the overland stage continued to carry the mail across the plains until the coming of the

railroad, and both the stagecoach and the freighter's wagon continued to serve the remote mining towns in the mountains until branch railroads were built to them.

The Cattle Ranch and the Cowboy.—For several hundred miles east of the Rocky Mountains the plains have too little rain for profitable farming, but enough to make them good pasture lands. The first white men who saw this region were astonished at the vast herds of buffalo which roamed over it. A Spanish explorer of the sixteenth century says, "I saw such

The
slaughter of
the buffalo



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

"Making a Drive" on a Texas Ranch

a quantity of cows in these plains that it is impossible to number them." A traveler who visited western Kansas in 1868 tells us that the plains were blackened with buffalo and that more than once the train had to stop to allow unusually large herds to pass. The Indians had always hunted the buffalo, and during the years just after the Civil War, white hunters killed great numbers of them for sport or for their hides which were made into robes. This slaughter went on so ruthlessly that in twenty years the last herd of buffalo was exterminated.

The cattle country

As the buffalo disappeared, herds of cattle took their places on the grassy plains. Ever since colonial days many cattle have been raised on the frontier, but when the pioneers reached the great plains they engaged in cattle raising on a far larger scale than ever before. The first western cattle ranches were in Texas, but the pasturage was better farther north, and the Texas cattlemen began to drive their herds in that direction. During the last fifty years the dry plains extending from Mexico to the Canadian border have become a vast cattle country.

In the early history of the cattle business in the West the



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

Method of Throwing a Cow

The cowboys

stock of each rancher was branded with the owner's mark and permitted to roam freely over an open range many miles in extent. Hard-riding cowboys on fleet ponies looked after the herds, branded the calves, kept the cattle from wandering too far, and saw that they had water. Sometimes the cowboys had to fight cattle thieves, and they often quarreled with other ranchers over the extent of their ranges and with sheep herders whom they especially hated because their flocks of sheep injured the pasturage for the cattle. In the autumn the cowboys rounded up the cattle, separated from the herd the animals that

were to be sent to market, and then allowed the rest to wander back on the range. In the early days the western cattle were often driven long distances to market, but after the railroads reached the cattle country they were shipped to the farms of Iowa or Illinois to be further fattened or sent directly to the slaughter houses of Chicago, Omaha, and Kansas City.

In the early history of the cattle industry on the western plains, little care was given the stock in the winter. The cattle lived upon the dried grass and had only such shelter from the

From ranch
to farm



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

The Union Stock Yards at Chicago, Illinois

storms as they could find in the valleys. Sometimes large numbers of them perished in the blizzards which sweep over that treeless country. At first the open country over which the cattle roamed belonged to the United States, but as more settlers arrived, this public land steadily passed into private hands. When the cattle rancher came to own his range he fenced it, dispensed with the services of most of his cowboys, introduced better breeds of cattle, built barns and sheds to shelter them in bad weather, and cut hay to feed them in winter.

With these changes the rude ranch house became a farm home, civil government was established in the cattle country, schools were opened, and in the course of time the roving cattlemen and picturesque cowboys of the earlier days on the plains became substantial and prosperous citizens of organized communities.

The Farmers Occupy the Far West.—In 1865 the frontier ran across the prairies of southern Minnesota, northwestern Iowa, and eastern Nebraska and Kansas. During the next twenty-five years pioneer farmers pushed steadily westward

Westward
march of
the pioneers



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

A Round-up on a Kansas Cattle Ranch

upon the treeless plains, until by 1890 they occupied nearly all the fertile land east of the Rocky Mountains that can be cultivated profitably without irrigation. Several causes stimulated this rapid settlement of the prairie country. It had always been the policy of our national government to sell public land to settlers at a low price, but in 1862 Congress passed a Homestead Act which gave one hundred and sixty acres of land to any citizen who would live upon it for five years and pay a small fee. After the Civil War many discharged soldiers, as well as other ambitious young men from all parts of the country,

took advantage of this law to secure new homes in the West. Then the railroad companies, which built roads across the plains ahead of the pioneers, did everything they could to attract settlers to this region in order to make business for themselves.

As a result of all these causes, land-hungry pioneers quickly populated the present states of Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota. In fact, the rich wheat lands of the Dakotas were settled so rapidly that sometimes a whole county without an inhabitant at the beginning of a year would

**Rapid settle-
ment of
the prairie
country**



A Pioneer City, Gayville, South Dakota

be filled with settlers before its close. For years the frontiersmen had coveted the attractive district of Oklahoma in Indian Territory, but it had been reserved for the Indians, and intruders upon it were driven off by United States soldiers. Finally this region was purchased from the Indians by the government, and at noon on April 22, 1889, it was thrown open to settlers. Drove of them were already camped upon its borders awaiting the hour to enter. "Whole outfits for towns, including portable houses, were shipped by rail, and individual families, in picturesque, primitive, white-covered wagons, journeyed forward, stretching out for miles in an unbroken line. The blast of a

bugle at noon on a beautiful spring day was the signal for a wild rush across the borders." Before nightfall thousands of farm claims were entered and several town sites were laid out. Thriving cities grew up in Oklahoma with astonishing rapidity. Similar scenes attended the opening to settlers of other Indian reservations in the following years. While eager settlers were thus securing the last available farm lands on the plains, and even pushing across our northern border into the wheat lands of the Canadian Northwest, other pioneer farmers were bringing under cultivation vast wheat-fields in California, Oregon, and Washington and planting the orchards which now bear the

fruit for which our Pacific Coast is justly famous.

At first the life of the settlers on the western prairies was very unlike that of the frontiersmen in the wooded country. The pioneer in the forest-covered lands had to spend a lifetime of hard labor in felling and burning the trees and in

Pioneer life
on the prairie



Courtesy of the Advance-Rumely Thresher Co., Inc.

Plowing by Oil-Power

This powerful tractor, using kerosene oil as a fuel, pulls a 4-bottom plow and does the work of many horses.

clearing the fields of stumps. The owner of a prairie farm could bring it under cultivation as fast as he could break the heavy sod with his plow. On the other hand, the settlers on the open prairies seriously missed the timber which the earlier pioneers found all about them. Ofttimes there was not a single tree in sight on the plains as far as the eye could reach. Many of the pioneers on the prairies built the walls of their first houses of blocks of sod. When the railroads began to bring lumber to these treeless regions, the sod hovels were gradually replaced by more substantial houses. Then school-houses and churches were built, and in a little while the new communities in the West grew to be very much like the older places farther east from which the settlers came.

Most of the farms in the new West, like those in the older parts of the country, are of moderate size, and the greater part of the work upon them is done by their owners. But in the wheat lands of the Dakotas, California, and Washington, some men began to cultivate enormous tracts of land, often thousands of acres in extent. Large numbers of farm-hands were employed upon these great farms, and in the course of time some very wonderful machines came to be used upon them. Great traction engines draw a row of plows, harrows, and drills so

Farming on a large scale



Courtesy of U. S. Reclamation Service

The Roosevelt Dam in Arizona

Dams like this transform the desert lands of the West into fertile farms.

attached to each other that the ground is plowed, pulverized, and seeded by a single operation. When the wheat is ripe, combined harvesters and threshers, sometimes drawn by a large number of horses and sometimes driven by steam, cut and thresh it and deliver it in bags ready to be hauled to market.

We have seen how the country between Kansas and California was first occupied by the miner and the cattle rancher. So little rain falls in most of this vast region that for a time it seemed to offer no inducements to the farmer. But the

**Irrigated
land**

Mormons, who settled in Utah in 1847, had proved that when the water from the rains and snows in the high mountains was made to flow upon the dry plains below, they would produce abundant crops. When public land with sufficient rainfall for farming purposes grew scarce, men began to reclaim some of the arid land on the plains or in the mountain valleys by irrigation. This is done by bringing the water from the rivers in large ditches and distributing it by means of smaller ditches to the cultivated fields. Much of this work is in the hands of



General Custer's Last Fight, June 24, 1876

irrigation companies, which build dams in the rivers to retain the water until it is needed, dig the main ditches, and sell to each farmer the right to use a certain amount of water. In 1902 the United States organized a Reclamation Service to aid in reclaiming the arid lands. The picture of the famous Roosevelt dam in Arizona on page 499 is a good illustration of the kind of work our government is doing to transform the deserts of the Far West into fertile farm lands. The farmers who buy the land irrigated by the United States must pay back to the government the cost of the irrigation works, and the money they pay is then used to reclaim more land in other dry regions.



The Last Indian Wars.—When the Indian tribes of the Far West saw white buffalo hunters, cowboys, and railroad builders invading their country and killing or driving away the game, they fought to keep these frontiersmen from their hunting-grounds, as the red men had fought the pioneers ever since the early colonial days. Between 1865 and 1880 there were numerous Indian wars in the West. The most serious of these bloody contests were waged with the Modocs in northern California and Oregon, with the Comanches and Apaches in western Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, and with the Sioux in the upper valley of the Missouri.

Trouble with
the western
Indians

The last great war with the red men was fought in 1876. By a treaty the Sioux had been given the right to live in the western part of South Dakota and to hunt in what is now eastern Montana. After gold was found in the Black Hills, miners began to flock to that region. The Indians protested against the coming of these intruders, but little attention was paid to their complaints. One Sioux chief said: "If you white men had a country which was very valuable, which had always belonged to your people, and which the Great Father had promised should be yours forever, and men of another race came to take it away by force, what would your people do? Would they fight?" The Sioux resolved to fight, and early in 1876, troops were sent against them. Led by Sitting Bull, one of their chiefs, the Indians fought fiercely. In a battle on the Little Big Horn River in Montana, General George A. Custer, who had won fame as a dashing cavalry officer in the Civil War, was surrounded, with two hundred and sixty of his men, by an overwhelming force of Indians. As they rode their ponies in a circle around Custer and his heroic band, the Indians poured a deadly fire upon them until the last soldier was slain. But this Indian victory only prolonged the war a little. In the end the Sioux were conquered and promised to give up their hunting-grounds and live upon the land assigned to them. Sitting Bull and some of his warriors fled to Canada, but a few years later they too agreed to return to the reservation.

The Sioux
War

Custer's last
fight

For fifty years before 1876 our government had been trying to get the Indians to live upon reservations, as the tracts of land assigned to the various tribes were called. This plan had never worked very well. The Indians were restless

Later treatment of the Indians

and discontented, and in many cases the agents who were appointed to care for their interests abused them and cheated them shamefully. After the last great Sioux war an effort was made to deal more justly with the red men. In 1878 the first Indians were sent to a famous normal and industrial school for negroes at Hampton, Virginia, and the following year a great Training and Industrial School for Indians was established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Other industrial schools were opened at various places in the West, and soon thousands of Indian children were learning the arts of civilized life. In 1887 the government began to give each Indian a farm of his own. Education in civilized ways of living and the possession of land are steadily transforming the three hundred thousand Indians still left in our country from their former barbarous condition into peaceful and prosperous citizens of the United States.

A group of western states

Our Newest States.—You will remember that the territories of New Mexico and Utah were organized by the Compromise of 1850, and that Kansas and Nebraska were given territorial governments by the famous Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. When the cattlemen began to occupy the plains, and the miners to settle in the mountain regions of the West, other territorial governments were created as they were needed, and when Congress thought that these territories ought to become states, they were admitted to the Union. Thus Kansas entered the Union the year the Civil War began, and Nevada was made a state in 1864. Nebraska was admitted in 1867, and in 1876 Colorado became "the Centennial state." In the territories near the Canadian border, population grew more slowly, but in time they too began to clamor for statehood. South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, and Washington entered the Union in 1889, and Idaho and Wyoming followed them the next year.

The Mormons in Utah

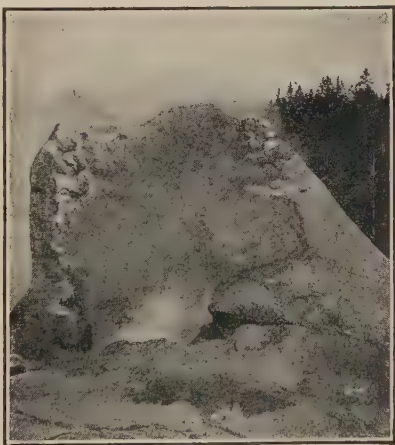
Under the leadership of Brigham Young, the Mormons found their way into Utah as early as 1847. There they began to settle at the western foot of the Wasatch Mountains. The country was very dry and the pioneers could not long support themselves in it without irrigating their fields. Fortunately they found never-failing streams flowing out of the near-by mountains. With patient industry the Mormon people dug ditches, watered their crops, and in time made a barren region productive and prosperous. Eventually the Salt Lake Valley

and the adjacent regions were made to literally "blossom like the rose." Coal and silver mining also developed great wealth in the territory. Its population increased steadily and in 1896 Congress made Utah a state.

The territory of Oklahoma, whose astonishing growth we have already noted, soon had enough population to justify it in asking for statehood, but its request went unheeded for several years because the Republicans who controlled Congress did not want to create another Democratic state. At last Oklahoma was united with Indian Territory and made a state in 1907. New Mexico and Arizona grew more slowly than the other western territories and were not admitted into the Union until 1912. The admission of these two increased the number of states in the Union to forty-eight.

The mines, forests, grazing lands, and irrigated farms of our newest states are sufficient to account for their steady growth in wealth and population. But in addition to their permanent residents, thousands of visitors are attracted to these states every year by their health-giving climate and by the splendor of their scenery. Large numbers of invalids, especially from among those in the early stages of tuberculosis, seek the mountain states of the West because of their clear, dry, and invigorating air. Even larger numbers of tourists are drawn to the same region by the magnificence of its mountains and by the fame of such natural wonders as the falls of the Yosemite Valley in California or the matchless Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona. Some of the grandest areas in the western mountains have been reserved by our national government as perpetual pleasure grounds for the people. Notable among these are the

The latest
states



The climate
and scenery
of the Far
West

© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

Giant Geyser Cone

The largest geyser in the world, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming.

Rocky Mountain Park near Denver, the Yellowstone National Park in northwestern Wyoming, with its curious and interesting hot springs and geysers, and the new Glacier National Park in northwestern Montana, with its towering peaks, mighty glaciers, and lovely mountain lakes.

REFERENCES.

Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Exploration*; Shinn, *The Story of the Mine*; Paxson, *The Last American Frontier: The New Nation*; Sparks, *National Development*; Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Westward Movement. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*, 1-13.
2. The Rocky Mountain Region. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 676-683.
3. Where Little Rain Falls. Brigham, *Geographic Influences in American History*, 230-254.
4. Mountain, Mine, and Forest. Brigham, *Geographic Influences in American History*, 255-285.
5. "Pike's Peak or Bust!" Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*, 138-155.
6. The Overland Mail. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*, 174-191.
7. The Last of the Frontier. Paxson, *The New Nation*, 142-160.
8. The Far West. Sparks, *National Development*, 251-264.
9. Our Treatment of the Indians. Hart, *Source Book of American History*, 366-369.
10. Indian Wars in the West. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 683-686.
11. Custer's Last Fight. Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, 186-193.
12. How the Railroads Hastened Western Settlement. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*, 372-386.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Ballard, *The Pacific Railway*; Whittaker, *Custer's Last Charge*; Stedman, *Custer*; Longfellow, *The Revenge of Rain-in-the-Face*; Whittier, *On the Big Horn*; Sigourney, *Indian Names*.

Stories: Adams, *The Log of a Cowboy*; *The Outlet*; *Reed Anthony*; *Cowman*; Garland, *Boy Life on the Prairie*; Wister, *The Virginian*; *Members of the Family*; Foote, *Cœur d'Alène*; *Led Horse Claim*; Hough, *The Girl at Halfway House*; Jackson, *Ramona*; Paterson, *Son of the Plains*; Grey, *Riders of the Purple Sage*; Sabin, *Buffalo Bill and the Overland Trail*; Talbot, *My People of the Plains*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

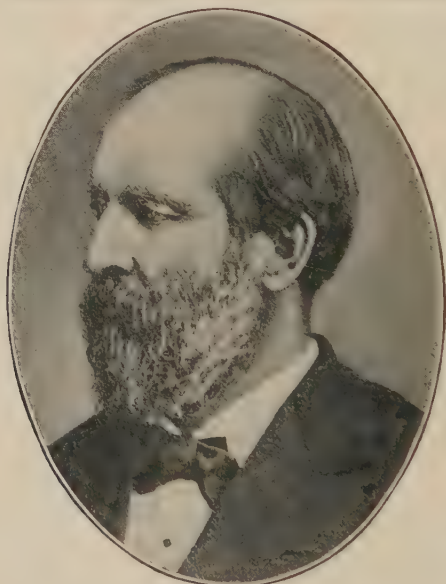
1. In what ways does this chapter show the influence of the physical geography of a region upon its history?
2. Have you ever read any stories about life in the western mining camps? What stories about cowboys and their work have you read? What is a "round-up"?
3. What two western states produce vast quantities of copper? Why is there a great demand for copper at the present time? What far western states produce coal?
4. What is meant by "dry farming"? What are the chief wool-growing states in the Rocky Mountain region? What is a forest reserve? What use is made of our western forest reserves?
5. How much of the arid West is it possible to irrigate? Would you prefer to have been a pioneer in the forest land or on the prairie? Why?
6. Is it probable that we shall ever have more than forty-eight states in the Union?
7. Were the white men or the Indians the more to blame for the Indian wars in our history?
8. Why is the disappearance of the frontier an important fact in our history?

CHAPTER XXVI

BIG BUSINESS AND SOCIAL UNREST

Twenty
years of
Republican
rule

Parties and Presidents.—The Republican party played a leading part in saving the Union and in freeing the slaves during the Civil War. Naturally this party was very strong when that war was over, and for the next twenty years all our presidents belonged to it. You will recall how the Republicans put



James A. Garfield

General Grant in the White House for two terms, and elected Hayes to succeed him in 1877, after the closest political contest in our history. President Hayes gave the country a good administration, but the Democrats sneered at him because they thought he had not been fairly elected, and the Republican politicians disliked him because he would not do their bidding. By withdrawing the Federal troops from the South, where some of them had been stationed ever

since the Civil War, Hayes did much to bring about a better feeling between the sections.

In 1880 some Republicans wanted General Grant to run for a third term, while many others favored James G. Blaine of Maine, but in the end the Republican convention nominated James A. Garfield of Ohio. Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania, a gallant soldier with a brilliant record in the Civil War, was the Democratic candidate in this election. After a close

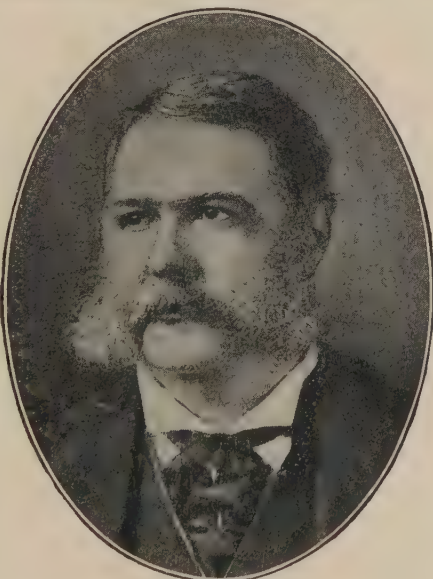
Hayes

Garfield

contest the Republicans won, and Garfield became president in 1881. Few of our presidents have been so well qualified by training and experience to fill the highest office in the land. The story of Garfield's life is one of the most inspiring in our history. After earning his way through school and college he became successively a college president, a fearless general in the Civil War, and for many years a prominent leader in the national House of Representatives.

The people expected great things of President Garfield, but in less than four months after his inauguration he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker. At first it was hoped that he might recover, but after weeks of suffering he died in September, 1881. The vice-president, Chester A. Arthur of New York, at once succeeded to the presidency. Arthur was not widely known before his election to the vice-presidency, but he proved to be an able president and gave the country a clean and wise administration.

In 1884 the brilliant Republican leader, James G. Blaine, won the presidential nomination which he had sought for years. Grover Cleveland, a lawyer of Buffalo who had recently been elected governor of New York by a large majority, was the Democratic candidate. After a close and bitterly contested campaign, Cleveland was elected, and in 1885 the country had a Democratic president for the first time since the days of James Buchanan. During his first term, President Cleveland urged several much-needed reforms upon Congress, but he failed to get most of the new laws which he wanted because the Senate

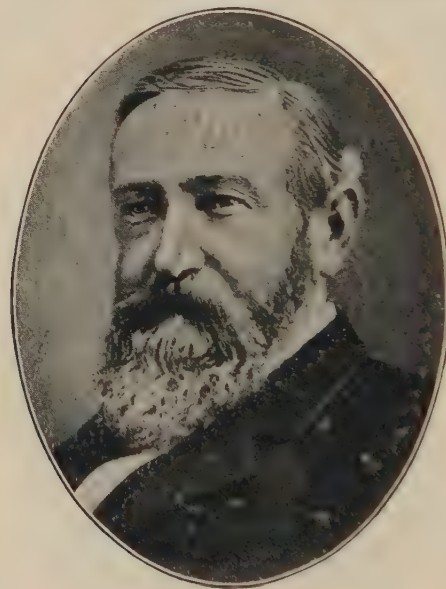


Arthur

Chester A. Arthur

Harrison

was still controlled by the Republicans. In 1888 President Cleveland sought a second term. Senator Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, a grandson of President William Henry Harrison, an able lawyer and a gallant general in the Civil War, was the Republican candidate in this campaign. Harrison won the election and served as president from 1889 to 1893.

**Cleveland's
second term**

Benjamin Harrison

**New ways of
doing busi-
ness**

In 1892 Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison were again rival candidates for the presidency, and this time Cleve-

land won. His second term, which ended in 1897, was filled with bitter political strife. Grover Cleveland was one of the most fearless and independent presidents in our history. It has been truly said of him that he was a man of "unflinching integrity and robust common sense." The story of his efforts to promote the welfare of the people will be told in succeeding sections of this chapter.

The Coming of Big Business.—The period covered by the presidencies of the men

named in the last section was the time when the use of new machines, the discovery of new sources of power, and the rapid development of the natural resources of the country were making marvelous changes in the life of our people. During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century men were beginning to carry on business on a scale never known before in the history of the world. Groups of railroad companies were joined together to form a few great railway systems, each controlling thousands of miles of track. Meanwhile, many small telegraph companies were consolidated into the great Western Union Telegraph Company.

But most of the big business concerns which grew up during the latter part of the nineteenth century were formed by uniting manufacturing enterprises which were engaged in making the same thing. When all, or nearly all, the producers of a certain article combined their various plants into one great business concern the combination was called a trust.

The Standard Oil Company was one of the earliest trusts. At first this company was only one of many firms engaged in the business of producing and refining petroleum. But by getting lower freight rates from the railroads than its competitors paid, and by other unfair methods, it secured control of its rivals, or drove them out of business. At the same time it made great improvements in the methods of transporting and refining

The origin of
the trusts



Courtesy of Armour & Co., Chicago.

A Bird's-eye View of a Large Meat-packing Establishment

petroleum. By 1882 the Standard Oil Company practically controlled the oil business of the country and had become a great trust which paid enormous profits to its stockholders. The success of the Standard Oil Company led to the formation of similar combinations in other fields of industry. The distillers established the Whiskey Trust, the sugar refiners united in the Sugar Trust, and in a few years the producers of coal, of iron, and of many kinds of manufactured goods formed gigantic trusts each of which tried to handle all the business in its line.

The trusts soon proved that there are many advantages in doing business on a large scale. A much wider use of labor-saving machinery is possible in a big factory than in a small place. The big business can often get its raw materials at lower prices than smaller concerns are forced to pay, because it buys

The
advantages
of trusts

them in enormous quantities. The trust can also save money in selling its products, because a few bookkeepers and traveling salesmen can do the work which required many men when the companies which united to form the big business were competing with one another. Much material which goes to waste in the smaller business is made into valuable by-products in the larger. The great meat-packing houses, for example, make a considerable part of their profits from the soap, fertilizer, buttons, mattresses, and other useful articles made from the blood, bones, hoofs, horns, and hair of the animals killed in their slaughter houses.

The evils of trusts

On the other hand, the coming of big business was attended and followed by some very serious evils. Frequently the organizers of the trusts acted very unjustly toward the companies which did not want to join them. Of course, the chief purpose in combining all or nearly all the producers of an article into a trust was to control the production and the price of that article. When a trust is able to control all or nearly all the business in its line it is said to have a monopoly. If a trust has a monopoly of some needful article it can charge an unfair price for it and in this way make great profits at the expense of the helpless consumer. The trusts made enormous fortunes for their owners, and many people came to believe that these fortunes were won by tricky and dishonest means. It was also commonly believed that some of the trusts resorted to bribery and other corrupt political practices in order to control public officers and to secure laws giving special favors to big business. Because of these beliefs men soon began to say that big business combinations ought to be broken up or at least to be firmly controlled and regulated by the government.

The unrest of labor

The Organization of Labor.—The growth of big business tended to develop two distinct classes of people in our country, the men who own the capital invested in mines, factories, and railroads, and the laborers whom they employ. In the earlier days, when business was carried on in a small way, the employer often worked with his men, as he still does on farms and in small shops. Under such conditions it was easy for the employer and his employees to be friends and to settle quickly and easily any differences that might arise between them. But when countless toilers in great factories took the places of the little

groups of workers in the small shops and mills of earlier days, the old kindly relation between the employer and his workmen began to pass away. With the coming of big business the employer and his employees became strangers to each other, and soon suspicion and distrust crept in between them. When the workingmen saw the vast fortunes which the trust builders were piling up, they began to feel that they were not getting a just share of the wealth which their toil did so much to produce. This feeling has led to a long series of disputes between capital and labor, which have continued to our own time.

At first the individual workingman could do little to defend his interests. If he worked at all he must accept such hours of labor and such wages as his employer offered. But the workers soon came to see that in union there is strength. Early in the nineteenth century, men working at the same trade or in the same factory began to form local trade unions. Later, local unions of men in the same trade began to unite in national unions. The printers formed the first national trade union in 1850, and by the close of the Civil War, the carpenters, the cigar makers, the locomotive engineers, and many other trades had formed national organizations.

The rise of
labor unions

When the great business combinations which we call the trusts began to appear, efforts were made to unite the workingmen in all lines of industry into one great organization powerful enough to force respect for the rights of labor. The first society of this nature was started in Philadelphia in 1869. For a time it grew slowly, but by 1886 it had developed into a great order, called the Knights of Labor, with nearly a million members. A little later the American Federation of Labor, an organization which joins in one body all the national trade unions of the country, began to take the place of the Knights of Labor, and for the last twenty years the Federation has been the most influential body of organized workingmen in America.

The
American
Federation
of Labor

It is the aim of the trade unions to secure higher wages for their members, to shorten their hours of labor, and to improve the conditions under which they work and live. Sometimes they do this by collective bargaining with the employer. Sometimes, when this method fails, the members of the union strike; that is, they refuse to work until their employer grants their demands. There have been many strikes, large and small,

Labor unions
have helped
the workers

in our country during the last fifty years, and among them the great railroad strikes of 1877, of 1886, and of 1894 were especially notable and far reaching in their influence. All these railroad strikes, as well as many others in the mines and factories of the country, have been attended with lawlessness and violence. Disorder, rioting, the destruction of property, and loss of life have been common in conflicts between the strikers and the police. In spite of all this strife, however, the labor unions have steadily improved the condition of the workers. One hundred years ago the hours of toil were from sunrise to



A Scene in the Great Railroad Strike of 1877

sunset. Now the average length of the working day in America is about nine hours, and in many lines of work an eight-hour day prevails. Wages are higher than ever before, and the conditions under which men and women work in shops and factories have steadily improved. The workers of the country have won these important gains by standing by each other in their various labor organizations.

The Tariff Question.—We have already studied the origin and early history of the protective tariff in our country. During the Civil War the duties on imports were made higher than ever, partly in order to raise more revenue to pay the

Differing
opinions
about a high
tariff

growing expenses of the government, and partly to counterbalance the high taxes levied on our own manufactures. After the Civil War was over, the high taxes on domestic manufactures were removed, but the high war tariff was continued, partly because the money which it brought into the treasury was needed to pay the national debt, and partly because many people believed that a high tariff helped the farmers and manufacturers to get better prices for their products, and to pay higher wages to their workmen. As time passed, an increasing number of our people began to think that the high duties were unnecessary and unjust, and some men said that the tariff helped to promote the upbuilding of the trusts. But as the Republican party, which favored high protection, was in power for twenty years after 1865, very few changes were made in the tariff during that period.



Grover Cleveland

When Grover Cleveland became president in 1885, the tariff was producing a great deal more revenue than was needed to pay the necessary expenses of the government. As a consequence, a surplus of many millions of dollars was piling up in the treasury every year. This money could not well be used at that time to pay off more of the national debt, because most of the bonds of the government were not yet due, and their owners would not give them up unless they were paid more than their face value for them. Some people wanted to spend the surplus in improving the rivers and harbors of the country and in paying larger pensions to the old soldiers, but President Cleveland said that the only

President
Cleveland
and the
surplus

sensible thing to do was to reduce the tariff and thus relieve the people of a part of the heavy taxes they were paying. The president urged his views upon Congress so strongly that, in 1888, the Democratic House of Representatives passed a bill lowering the tariff, but the Senate, which was controlled by the Republicans, refused to consider it.

President Cleveland's bold action in insisting upon tariff reform made that question the main issue in the election of 1888. Cleveland was defeated in this election, as we have seen, and in 1890 the victorious Republicans passed the McKinley Act which gave the country the highest tariff it had ever known. The McKinley Act, like all the other tariff laws in recent years, takes its name from the man who was chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives which considered it. One interesting feature of the McKinley tariff law was a provision for admitting the goods of other countries into our ports free of duty, or at lower rates of duty, if those countries would extend similar favors to goods coming to them from the United States. Such an arrangement is called reciprocity. The reciprocity feature of the tariff of 1890 was especially intended to build up our trade with the South American countries.

When Cleveland became president a second time, in 1893, he continued to urge Congress to reduce the tariff, and as the Democrats then had a majority in both branches of that body, they passed the Wilson Tariff Act in 1894. This measure had so little tariff reform in it, however, that the president said his party had failed to keep its promise. Cleveland would not sign the Wilson bill, but he permitted it to become a law without his signature. Neither side was yet satisfied with the tariff, and, as we shall see, that question has been a bone of contention between the Republicans and the Democrats down to the present time.

The Railroad Problem.—The new railroads which were built so rapidly during the years just after the Civil War played a large part in promoting the marvelous growth of the industries of the country at that time. At first, this improvement in transportation was welcomed with joy, but soon after 1870 grave complaints began to be heard that the railroad companies were treating the people very unfairly. It was said that the railroads

The
McKinley
Tariff Act

The Wilson
Tariff Act

Complaints
against the
railroads

frequently charged higher freight rates for a short distance than they did for a much longer haul over the same route. Even more serious was the complaint that freight rates were not the same for everybody. It was charged that the great corporations and trusts which shipped their products in large quantities were getting lower rates than the smaller manufacturers, and that this unjust discrimination tended to drive the latter out of business and thus to strengthen the grip of the trusts upon the country.

The growing indignation against the railroads was especially strong among the farmers of the prairie states of the West. The people of that section of the country were peculiarly dependent upon the railroads for nearly everything they had. The lumber of which they built their houses, the tools with which they cultivated the soil, and nearly all the household supplies they needed had to be brought to them long distances by rail. The wheat, corn, hogs, and cattle they grew upon their farms had little value unless they could ship them to market. In the seventies and eighties the western farmers were rapidly coming to believe that the railroads were making it impossible for them to prosper, by charging excessive freight rates upon everything they bought and sold.

When the people came to feel that railroad practices were unfair, and that railroad rates were often excessively high, they began to demand the passage of laws to correct these abuses. In the early seventies such laws were enacted by several of the western states. But it was soon found that this did not help matters very much, because most of the railroads were engaged in doing business in several states while the laws of any one state had no effect outside of its borders. The Constitution of the United States gives Congress the power to regulate commerce "with foreign nations and among the several states and



From Brown Bros., N. Y.
Fine Cattle and Hogs near Caldwell, Idaho

The western farmers at the mercy of the railroads

The demand for federal control of railroads

with the Indian tribes," and when it was seen that state laws were inadequate to correct railroad abuses the people began to clamor for the regulation of the railroads by the national government.

The First Attempts to Control Big Business.—By 1887 the demand that the United States government should try to stop railroad abuses had become so insistent that Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act. This famous law required the railroads to print and make public their freight and passenger rates, and declared that these rates must not be excessive and that they must be the same for every one. It also provided for the appointment of an Interstate Commerce Commission of five members to investigate the rates charged by the railroads and to say when they were unreasonable.

At first the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission were so limited that it could do little to cure the gross abuses in railroad management. While the commission could declare that freight rates were too high, it had no power to fix fairer prices. The railroads pretended to give the same rates to all, but they continued to favor the trusts and other big shippers by giving them rebates and by breaking the spirit of the law in other ways. They were also continually interfering in politics in order to secure special favors from the state legislatures and from the courts. As a consequence of these evil practices the wrath of the people waxed hotter against the railroads every year.

In 1890 Congress took the first step against the trusts by passing the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which forbade all combinations in restraint of trade between the states or with foreign nations. The hope of the people that this law would check the growth of trusts was doomed to disappointment. For some years no effort was made by the national government to enforce the anti-trust act, and big business continued to do very much as it pleased until after the dawn of the twentieth century.

The Campaign for Free Silver.—The social unrest caused by the unfair practices and the exactions of the railroads and by the growing power of the trusts was becoming so intense in the years just after 1890 that many of our people were ready to unite in an effort to regulate and control the big business interests of the country for the common good. This feeling

The
Interstate
Commerce
Act

This law fails
to stop rail-
road abuses

The
Sherman
Anti-Trust
Act

Attention is
diverted to
the silver
question

was especially strong in the labor unions and among the farmers of the West and the South. But unfortunately the attention of the people was diverted just at this time from the needed reforms in our industrial life and fixed upon a demand for the free coinage of silver. In order to understand the silver question, which played a very important part in our politics during the last ten years of the nineteenth century, we must trace the history of our coinage from its beginning.

In 1792 Congress provided for the free coinage of both gold and silver. This meant that anyone might take either gold or silver to the mint and have it coined into money. As gold is more valuable than silver, Congress made the silver dollar fifteen times as heavy as the gold in order that each of them might have exactly the same value. If the gold dollar and the silver dollar are worth exactly the same, it will make no difference to anyone which he uses, and both kinds of coin will circulate freely. But gold and silver are constantly changing in value. The value of each of them, like the value of nearly everything else, depends mainly upon the demand for it and upon whether it is scarce or abundant. If the metal in one of the dollars becomes more valuable than that in the other, the people will naturally make their purchases and pay their debts with the cheaper and keep the better dollar or use the metal in it for other purposes. For this reason the cheaper dollar will soon drive the dearer dollar out of use.

Free coinage
of gold and
silver

Soon after the first coinage law was passed, it was found that the silver dollar, which was fifteen times as heavy as the gold dollar, was the cheaper dollar of the two, and consequently little else than silver was coined for many years. In an effort to bring both metals into use as money, Congress voted in 1834 to make the silver dollar sixteen times as heavy as the gold dollar, and for a while after this law was passed, both gold and silver were coined. But after the discovery of gold in California in 1848, the yellow metal grew so abundant that it soon became cheaper than silver at the coinage ratio of sixteen to one. When this happened no more silver was sent to the mint and the silver coins steadily disappeared.

How one
metal drove
the other out
of use

In 1873 Congress passed a new coinage law. As silver dollars had then been practically unknown for twenty years, the act of 1873 made no provision for their coinage in the future.

gold in the gold dollars, were freely coined, they would drive the gold out of use, and that debts and wages would be paid in cheap money. The social unrest was further aggravated by the hard times which followed a disastrous financial panic in 1893. As time passed, it became clear that the silver question would be the leading issue in the next presidential election. Both of the great political parties were divided upon this question, but many more Democrats than Republicans favored the free coinage of both metals as it had existed before 1873.

The free
silver cam-
paign of 1896

In 1896 the Republicans opposed the free coinage of silver and declared that all our silver and paper money must be kept as good as gold. Upon this platform they nominated William McKinley of Ohio for the presidency. The Democrats demanded the free coinage of both silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one, and made William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska their candidate. The Populists, a strong third party which had recently sprung up in the South and West, also favored the free coinage of silver and supported Bryan. The campaign of 1896 was one of the most earnest and closely contested political battles in our history. Bryan, a young, enthusiastic, and eloquent man, visited every part of the country and spoke to millions of people. The big business interests favored McKinley and gave large sums of money to his campaign fund. Many Republicans in the western states deserted their party and voted for Bryan, but their loss was more than made good by the votes of eastern Democrats who supported McKinley. The Republicans won the election, and the campaign for the free coinage of silver was lost.

William
McKinley

The Triumph of Big Business.—William McKinley came to the presidency in 1897 after a long career in the public service. When a young man he had been a brave soldier in the Civil War. Some years after the war he was elected to the House of Representatives, in which he rose to be a leader, and at the time of his election to the presidency he was just finishing a second term as the governor of Ohio. President McKinley was one of the most genial and lovable men who ever lived in the White House, but he believed that the prosperity of all the people depended upon the success of the big business concerns of the country. Accordingly, he favored big business and did nothing to make the railroads and the trusts respect the rights of the people.

The Republicans have always favored the protection of our industries by high duties on imported goods, and one of President McKinley's first acts was to call Congress in special session to revise the tariff. The result was the passage of the Dingley bill, the highest tariff act in our history. The Dingley tariff was in force for twelve years, and the Payne-Aldrich tariff which took its place in 1909 only slightly changed the rates of duty. The believers in high tariff claimed that these laws gave the manufacturers large profits and thus made it possible for them to pay high wages to their workmen. The foes of protection, on the other hand, declared that such high tariff laws made all the people pay more for the necessities of life and helped to tighten the grip of the trusts upon the business of the country.

The highest
tariff in our
history

The year that McKinley became president the country was excited by the news that gold had been found in large quantities in the Klondike region in Canada near the Alaskan border. The next year another new gold field was discovered at Cape Nome in western Alaska. Many people rushed to these far northern regions, as they had hurried to California in 1849, and during the next few years a large addition was made to the supply of gold. This fact robbed the advocates of the free coinage of silver of their best argument, namely, that there was not enough gold in the country to provide a basis for a good system of money, and when Bryan ran for the presidency against McKinley a second time in 1900, he was easily defeated. The same year Congress passed a law making the gold dollar our standard coin and providing that all other forms of money shall be kept as good as gold. Of course, this can only be done by paying gold for them on demand.



The gold
standard
permanently
established

Courtesy F. Gutekunst Co., Phila.
William McKinley

The growth
of the trusts

President McKinley's administration was a time of rapid development in every line of industry. Our farmers were raising great crops of wheat and cotton, our railroads were prospering, and our manufacturers were seeking foreign markets for their surplus goods. With the government of the nation in the hands of their friends, the trusts grew and multiplied. When the twentieth century opened, such important industries as the making of steel, the refining of sugar, and the manufacture of paper were in the hands of trusts, and many new trusts were being formed with the purpose of controlling every important line of manufacturing in the country. There was great social unrest because of this condition, but the government was making no effort to enforce the law against the trusts and no one seemed to know what to do about it.

REFERENCES

Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*; Paxson, *The New Nation*; Andrews, *The United States in Our Time*; Sparks, *National Development*; Dewey, *National Problems*; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*; Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Election of Garfield. Sparks, *National Development*, 165-181.
2. "Blaine of Maine." Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, 452-480.
3. The Growth of Our Inland Commerce. Sparks, *National Development*, 305-326.
4. The Formation of the Trusts. Dewey, *National Problems*, 188-202.
5. Organized Labor. Dewey, *National Problems*, 40-56.
6. The Great Strike of 1894. Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, 722-730.
7. Cleveland and Tariff Reform. Dewey, *National Problems*, 57-75.
8. The Wilson Tariff Act. Dewey, *National Problems*, 279-286.
9. The Populist Party. Dewey, *National Problems*, 244-246.
10. Bryan and McKinley. Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*, 773-787.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Novels: Howells, *The Rise of Silas Lapham*; Wilkins, *The Portion of Labor*; White, *A Certain Rich Man*; Norris, *The Octopus*; *The Pit*; Churchill, *A Far Country*; Sinclair, *The Jungle*; Richardson, *The Long Day*; Kemp, *Boss Tom*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. In the long run, have the people gained or lost by the formation of the trusts? Give your reasons for your opinion.
2. Can you find an example of a monopoly in your home community? If you owned all the butter in the country could you sell it for any price you pleased? Why?
3. How many hours per day do the men work in the shops and factories in your neighborhood? How many hours per day do you think they ought to work?
4. Who was Jay Gould? James J. Hill? Andrew Carnegie? J. Pierpont Morgan? Who is John D. Rockefeller?
5. When the taxes bring in more money than is needed to pay the necessary expenses of the government what ought to be done?
6. Ask the men you know what their reasons are for favoring or opposing a protective tariff.
7. Is it wrong for the man who ships a hundred carloads of goods to get a lower freight rate than the man who ships only one carload? Why? Is it right to sell potatoes at a lower price per bushel to the man who takes one hundred bushels than to the man who buys only one bushel? Why?
8. Just what is meant by sixteen to one? Was Bryan right or wrong in advocating the free coinage of silver? Why?



CHAPTER XXVII

NEW SOCIAL IDEALS AND RECENT PROGRESS

The death of
McKinley

Our Latest Presidents.—About six months after beginning his second term, President McKinley was shot by an anarchist while he was shaking hands with the people at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo. At first the people hoped that the wounded president might recover, but this hope proved vain, and in a few days he died. For the fifth time in our history a vice-president succeeded to the presidency.

Theodore
Roosevelt



© Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt was already justly famous as an upright and courageous public servant when McKinley's death made him president in September, 1901. Since early manhood he had striven for purer politics and more efficient government. In 1900 Roosevelt was governor of New York, and the leaders of the Republican party in

that state who did not like his zeal for reform, managed to have him nominated for the vice-presidency in order to prevent his reelection as governor. They little dreamed that by this act they were making him the leader of the nation in its struggle for a square deal in business and for higher social ideals. The new president was a vigorous, bold, enthusiastic, and outspoken man of rare ability and the highest integrity. He was unselfish, absolutely fearless, and a born leader of men. No other American since Abraham Lincoln has had so great an influence for good upon the thought and the life of our people.

The time was ripe for such a leader as President Roosevelt. He felt the growing unrest among the people, and he knew that his countrymen would not permit the railroads and the trusts to rule them forever. He believed that the right way to avoid trouble in future was to enforce all the existing laws regulating big business, to make new laws for its further control in the interest of all the people, and to give to rich and poor alike what he called a "square deal." While this policy won for Roosevelt the bitter hatred of the trust magnates and of the self-seeking politicians who served them, it made him very popular with the people, and in 1904 he was elected to the presidency by an overwhelming majority over Alton B. Parker, the Democratic candidate.

The policy of the "square deal"

Roosevelt's second term was a continual struggle for the rights of the people against the big business interests of the country. Several trusts were prosecuted for breaking the laws, and new laws were passed for the better regulation of the railroads. The confidence of the people in

Roosevelt continued to grow, and in 1908 his influence led the Republicans to make his secretary of war, William H. Taft of Ohio, their candidate for the presidency. For a third time William Jennings Bryan was the defeated Democratic candidate.

William H. Taft, our president from 1909 to 1913, was a wise and experienced statesman who shared some of the progressive views and carried on most of the policies of his predecessor. But in spite of his fine traits Taft lacked the fighting qualities of Roosevelt, and he soon fell under the influence of the old-fashioned or conservative Republicans who disliked Roosevelt and his reforms. These conservative Republicans or "standpatters," as they were called, planned



© Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.
William H. Taft

The election of Taft

The rise of the Progressive movement

to renominate Taft in 1912, but the progressive members of the party who wanted to carry still further the reform policies of Roosevelt refused to vote for Taft and tried to nominate Roosevelt for another term. After a close and bitter contest in the Republican national convention, Taft was nominated. The progressive Republicans declared that Taft's nomination was made by unfair means and refused to support him. A little later they held another convention, organized the Progressive

party, demanded a long list of political and social reforms, and named Roosevelt as their candidate for the presidency. The result of this split in the Republican party in 1912 was the election of Woodrow Wilson by the Democrats.

Woodrow Wilson, who became president in 1913, was a famous teacher and author who had been president of Princeton University and more recently governor of New Jersey. He was a progressive and forward-looking man, and during his first term the power of the trusts and of the great financial combinations was further restricted. In 1916 Wilson was reelected over



Woodrow
Wilson

© Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.
Woodrow Wilson

Charles E. Hughes, the candidate of the Republicans. The history of his second term is the story of the entrance of our country into the great war with Germany in 1917 and of the part which we took in bringing that awful contest to a victorious end.

New Ways in Politics and Government.—In an earlier chapter we saw how the spoils system tended to corrupt our political life. Yet for half a century after Andrew Jackson introduced this bad practice into our national government, whenever the party in power was defeated in a presidential

The spoils
system

election, all the appointive office-holders except the judges were turned out and their places given to the politicians of the victorious party. About fifty years ago a few earnest men began to urge a reform of the civil service, but at first very little attention was paid to them.

After President Garfield was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, the evils of the spoils system could no longer be overlooked or denied, and in 1883 Congress passed the Civil Service Law. This act provided for the appointment of a Civil Service Commission of three men. It is the duty of this commission to give competitive examinations which must be taken by those who seek places in the civil service. When a public officer has been appointed after passing such an examination he cannot be removed except for just cause and then only after a fair hearing. The passage of the Civil Service Law marked the beginning of a change from the spoils system to a merit system. The president has the right to name the offices for which competitive examinations must be taken. At first the number of offices on this list was small, but the later presidents, especially Cleveland, Roosevelt and Taft, have added others to it until now fully two-thirds of all the persons in the civil service had to pass examinations before they were appointed. Similar efforts have been made to introduce the merit system into the governments of some of our states and cities, but in many of them the evils of the spoils system are still very grave.

The organization which manages each political party is sometimes called the party "machine," and the leaders of the "machine" are often called the "bosses" of the party. Until recent years candidates for office in our counties, congressional districts, and states were nominated by party conventions. The members of these conventions were supposed to be elected by the voters of the respective parties, but as a matter of fact they were often chosen through the influence of the party "bosses" and they usually voted as the "bosses" directed. By paying the campaign expenses of the party "machines", and sometimes by bribing the "bosses", the corporations and trusts which were trying to get the business of the country into their hands often managed to have men selected for office who would do their bidding. About twenty years ago some of the western states began to try to destroy the influence of the "bosses"

Civil service reform

Political "machines" and party "bosses"

**Direct
primaries**

and of the political rings by providing for the nomination of candidates for office at party elections called direct primaries. The change from party nominating conventions to direct primaries has spread from state to state until now nominations for office in nearly all our states are made in this way.

**Initiative and
referendum**

When they noted the growing influence upon the government of the country of the big business interests and their creatures, the political "bosses," many of the people began to feel that their state legislatures no longer truly represented them. As a result of this feeling, some of the western states, whose people are less afraid than those of the East to try a thing merely because it is new, sought to protect the lawmaking power of the people by adopting two devices known as the

initiative and the referendum. By the initiative a certain per cent. of the voters of a state may propose a law, or force the legislature to do so, and then submit it to the people for their approval or rejection. The referendum provides that when enough voters demand it, an act passed by the legisla-



Courtesy of George B. Post & Sons
A Typical State Capital at Madison, Wisconsin

ture must be approved by a popular vote before it becomes a law. The popular distrust of the influence of the moneyed interests and of the political "bosses" also helped to bring about the adoption of the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution in 1913. This amendment took away from the state legislatures the right to elect United States senators, and provided for their choice by the direct vote of the people.

Another movement to make the government more truly representative of all the people is the extension to women of the right to vote on equal terms with men. Susan B. Anthony and Anna Howard Shaw were leading advocates of equal suffrage for women, and the Rocky Mountain states were the pioneers in its adoption. In 1919 Congress proposed an amendment to the

**The
seventeenth
amendment****Woman
suffrage**

Constitution giving women the right to vote on the same terms as men. This amendment was ratified by three-fourths of the states in 1920, and the women of the whole country voted for the first time in the presidential election of that year.

The rapid growth of cities during the last fifty years has brought many new political problems in its train. The streets must be paved, lighted, and cleaned; policemen and firemen must be employed to guard the people and their property; an adequate supply of pure water must be provided; and the health and welfare of the inhabitants must be looked after in other ways. For a time, these things were very badly done in many of our cities. Political "bosses" controlled the members of the councils and the other city officers, and bribery, graft, and corrupt politics ran riot. In their efforts to reform these shameful conditions, hundreds of our cities have adopted the "commission plan" of government during the last dozen years. Under this plan the voters elect a small body of men, often five in number, and put the government of the city into their hands. Still more recently a few of our cities have adopted the "city manager plan" of government, in which one man is put in charge of all the city's affairs and held responsible for the results.

**Reforms
in city
government**

All the newer ways in politics and government named in this section are an improvement upon the older methods which they displaced, but they have fallen far short of ridding our country of the influence of political "bosses" and selfish business interests. Our people are rapidly learning that they can have good government in a democracy only when all the voters take an intelligent interest in public affairs, and are willing to give a part of their time to seeing that honest and competent men are selected to manage the public business.

**Intelligent
interest in
public affairs**

New Laws for the Public Good.—By the dawn of the twentieth century the trusts and other great corporations employed vast numbers of our wage earners, and all our people depended upon these big business concerns for some of the necessities of life. Under these circumstances it seemed to many of our citizens that their freedom was in grave peril. How, they said, can we be free when our labor and the prices we must pay for the means of life are controlled by the masters of big business? It is true that some men denied that there was anything wrong in this situation. Such men pointed to the business prosperity

**Freedom
in peril**

**Conserv-
atives**

of the country, claimed that all the people shared in it, and declared that it was best to let well enough alone. At the other extreme were those who thought that the way in which industry was carried on was all wrong, and that it must be revolutionized if we were not to become a nation of slaves ruled by the big business interests. Such men declared that the land, the mines, the railroads, the factories, and all the other means by which wealth is produced ought to belong to all the people and be operated by the government. Those who hold this view are called Socialists. Their number grew so fast during the first decade of this century that they cast nearly a million votes in the election of 1912. But the majority of our people held neither of the views just described. They knew that the great railroad companies and the trusts were guilty of evil practices, but they also believed that these big business concerns had grown up naturally in our country, and that if they were properly controlled and regulated by law they would be of great service to the people. In other words, they did not think a business was bad just because it was big. This was the position of President Roosevelt, and under him and his successors, Taft and Wilson, many laws were passed to regulate and restrict big business for the public good.

The business of the country is so dependent upon the railroads that it is vitally important that they should be managed in the interest of the public welfare. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 was intended to secure this end, but as we have seen, it was a weak law which the railroads easily evaded. When President Roosevelt tried to enforce this law he soon saw that new legislation was necessary before the railroads could be compelled to deal justly with all the people. Through his influence and that of President Taft, the law regulating commerce between the states was greatly strengthened by a series of acts passed between 1903 and 1910. These new laws enlarged the Interstate Commerce Commission from five to seven members and gave it jurisdiction over express companies, telegraph and telephone companies, and oil pipe lines, as well as railways. They also provided severe punishments for giving or accepting rebates, and gave the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to reduce railroad rates when they were too high and to permit them to be raised when an increase was shown to be just and necessary.

Socialists

Progressives

**Regulating
the rail-
roads**

From the beginning of his administration, President Roosevelt told Congress that the control of the trusts by the federal government was the most important business before the country. At first Congress paid little attention to his suggestions, but in 1903 it created the Department of Commerce and Labor and authorized it to collect information about the conduct of corporations. You will recall that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act had been passed in 1890, but that it had never been vigorously enforced. As soon as President Roosevelt secured evidence that any trust was violating the Sherman act he brought suit against it in the United States courts, and the same policy was followed by President Taft. The most famous of these

**The trusts
must obey
the law**

"trust busting" cases, as they were called, was the prosecution of the Standard Oil Company in 1907. After a long legal battle the Supreme Court decided in 1911 that this famous trust must be dissolved because it was violating the law; but as a little group of



The National City Bank of New York
One of the largest financial institutions in the world.

ten or twelve men controlled nearly all the companies into which the great corporation was broken up, the people gained little by this decision. In 1914 Congress passed the Clayton Anti-Trust Bill, which further restricted the power of the trusts, but they have not yet been brought fully under public control.

The Democrats have always favored lower duties than the Republicans, and soon after their leader, Woodrow Wilson, became president in 1913, he called Congress together in special session to revise the tariff. The result was the passage of the Underwood Tariff Bill. This act, which is still in force, reduced the average of duties about one-third and admitted a number of the necessities of life free of duty altogether. It was hoped that this law, while providing moderate protection for our manu-

**The tariff
reduced**

facturing industries, would insure cheaper goods for all the people.

Another very important law passed during the first year of President Wilson's administration was the Federal Reserve Bank Act. This act divided the country into twelve districts and established a Federal Reserve Bank in some important city in each district. Every national bank is a member of the Federal Reserve Bank of its district. The purpose of the Federal Reserve banking system is to prevent the undue concentration of the money of the country in one great financial center like New York, and to provide for issuing new paper money whenever the business needs of the country require it. If you will examine the next pieces of paper money that you see, you will probably find that some of them are the notes of Federal Reserve banks.

During the last fifteen years both the states and the United States have enacted a great many other laws intended to promote the welfare or safeguard the health of the people. The postal service has been extended by the creation of postal savings banks and by the establishment of a parcel post to carry packages of merchandise. A pure food and drugs act forbids the adulteration of these articles, and another law provides for the federal inspection of all meat products in the interest of the public health. Labor has been safeguarded by laws to prevent young children from working in factories, and to limit the number of hours of labor on the railroads and in some other lines of work, and by the establishment of a separate Department of Labor in 1913. Other laws enable farmers to borrow money of the government for a longer time and at a lower rate of interest than the banks will allow, and provide for the establishment of farm bureaus to promote instruction in agriculture and to advance the interests of the farmers in other ways.

New Movements for Social Betterment.—While conquering the wilderness and building up the industries of the United States our people acted as if there were no limit to the resources of their country. They made vast desolate areas by destroying the forests in regions where the land is only fit to grow timber; they were wasteful in mining and using coal and the metals; and worst of all, they depleted the fertility of the soil by careless

Federal Reserve Banks

Many laws for the public welfare

Wastefulness of our people

methods of farming. One of the greatest of President Roosevelt's many valuable services to his country during the eventful years of his administration was in calling attention in his forceful way to this threatening waste of the bounties of nature and in inspiring a movement for their conservation for the future.

The conservation of the natural resources of the country has various meanings. In the case of coal, oil, and gas, which when once used are gone forever, it means the elimination of



An Oil Pool, Texas

waste in their production and economy in their use. In the case of the metals, which, like coal and oil, are limited in amount, but unlike them, can be used again and again until they are worn out, it means the reduction of waste in mining the ore and in extracting the metal from it, and then a careful use of the metal to make it last as long as possible. The use of water on the other hand does not destroy it, and so it is best conserved by using it as far as possible for navigation, for irrigation, and as a source of power. It also means that big corporations shall not be permitted to monopolize the water power of the country,

The conservation movement

but that this important resource shall be kept in the hands of the people and managed in their interest. The soil and the forests, unlike fuels and metals, when exhausted or destroyed may be slowly renewed. The farmers can conserve the soil by handling it in such a way as to restore and preserve in it the elements which are necessary for plant food. Much waste land may also be made useful by the drainage of swamps and the irrigation of arid regions. The forests are conserved by not using lumber more freely than it can be grown. To secure this end young trees must be planted; forest fires must be prevented or fought; and only such timber must be cut as is ripe for use.

Forest
reserves

It has been found that the best way to conserve the forests is to keep them in the hands of the national government. In 1891 Congress passed a law authorizing the president to reserve forests lands for the use of the nation. Presidents Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley began to establish forest reserves, and President Roosevelt reserved the larger part of the great forests in the Pacific and Rocky Mountain states, which were still a part of the public lands, as national forests to be held forever as the property of the people and managed in their interest. We owe a great debt of gratitude for our splendid forest reserves to Theodore Roosevelt and to Gifford Pinchot who was chief forester of the United States from 1898 to 1910.

Safety first

The protection of the lives and health of the people is even more important than the conservation of the natural resources of the country. For a long time neither the nation nor the states paid much attention to these vital matters. Accidents were very common in factories, mines, and on the railroads. But in recent years many of the states have provided by law for the inspection of mines and factories to see that they are properly ventilated, and that dangerous machinery is so covered as to prevent injury to the workmen; and the United States has required all railroads which are engaged in interstate commerce to safeguard their employees by using air brakes and automatic couplers on all their locomotives and cars. But in spite of all these laws there are still many accidents in industry, and many of the states have passed workmen's compensation acts under which the employer or the state pays an injured workman a part of his wages while he is recovering, or gives him a fixed sum or a pension if his injury permanently disables him.

During the later years of our history, improvements in hygiene and sanitation, new discoveries in medicine and surgery, and better care of the sick have done much to conquer disease and to prolong life. Vaccination, where practised, has banished smallpox; cleanliness has driven out cholera, a terrible disease of years ago; antitoxin has conquered diphtheria; typhoid fever has practically disappeared in cities where the water is pure and proper sanitary regulations are observed; and the dreadful scourge of yellow fever is no longer known

Health
measures



A Consolidated Country School

The "Jackson" school in Jackson Township, Randolph County, Indiana. Thirteen transportation vehicles bring the pupils from all parts of the township.

where the mosquitoes by which it is transmitted from one person to another have been exterminated. All our cities and many of our smaller towns maintain excellent hospitals for the care of the sick, and ample provision is made in hospitals and schools for the treatment and education of the insane and the feeble-minded.

The movement for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors has grown with amazing rapidity during the last few years. The Prohibition party, first organized in 1872, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, under its inspiring leader, Frances E. Willard, teaching the effects of the

The
prohibition
movement

The
eighteenth
amendment

use of alcohol to the boys and girls in our public schools, the work of the anti-saloon leagues against the drink traffic, the realization that drunkenness was diminishing the industrial efficiency of our workmen, and the coming of the World War in 1917, all played their part in stirring up the people against strong drink. Some of the states adopted local option laws by which counties or townships were allowed to decide by popular vote whether saloons should be permitted within their limits, and other states were made "dry" by state action. State-wide prohibition spread rapidly in the South and the West. In 1917 Congress proposed the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution forbidding the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation, or exportation of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes, and early in 1919 this amendment was ratified by more than three-fourths of the states and thus became a part of the fundamental law of the land.

Improve-
ments in
the common
schools

Progress in Education.—During the last half century of our history, marvelous improvements have been made in our schools of every grade and kind. The free common school system has been extended to every corner of the country. The schools in this system have been carefully graded, and just now the one room schools in the country are being consolidated into a smaller number of larger schools with better facilities for good school work. Better schoolhouses have been built; the annual school term has been lengthened; new branches of study have been introduced; the quality of the teaching has been very much improved; and in many of the states compulsory attendance laws compel all children between certain ages to go to school.

Develop-
ment of
high schools

But perhaps the most striking feature of recent educational progress in the United States has been the growth of our high schools. Half a century ago there were only a few small high schools in all the land. Now every city and town has one or more of these schools and nearly a million and a half young Americans attend them. Great numbers of our high schools are housed in splendid new buildings well equipped with laboratories, libraries, shops, and workrooms. The old-time high-school course of study, which consisted chiefly of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, has been enriched by the addition of the natural sciences, modern languages, history, social science, and

literature. Technical, commercial, and agricultural high schools in ever-increasing numbers give boys and girls a training for the work of life in their respective communities. It is now possible to get a better education in any good high school than could be obtained in most of our colleges one hundred years ago.

The development of American colleges and universities since the time of the Civil War has been almost as remarkable as the growth of our high schools. Old institutions, like Harvard or the University of Pennsylvania, have grown from little colleges to great universities attended by thousands of students. Splendid new universities, like Johns Hopkins at Baltimore, the University of Chicago, and Leland Stanford in California, have been richly endowed by some of our wealthy men. Most important of all, the states of the Middle West and of the Far West have developed great state universities, like those of Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas, and California. Many of our universities have enlarged their field of service



Growth of colleges and universities

Frances E. Willard

Founder and first president of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union.



Boston Public Library

One of the many libraries open to the public

to the people by offering extension and correspondence courses which students may take at their own homes. In the meantime provision has been made for professional training by the establishment of numerous normal schools, agricultural colleges, and schools for the study of law, medicine, and engineering. Vocational schools in ever increasing numbers are teaching trades and giving instruction in home economics.

Nor have our people neglected to provide opportunities for further education for those whose regular school life is over,

**Education
for life**

Many of our cities and towns maintain night schools in which those who must toil during the day may be taught in the evening. In some places the schoolhouses are open in the evenings for social gatherings, concerts, and instructive lectures. Every year more parks and playgrounds are provided for the recreation of the people. Nearly every town has its public library, and our large cities maintain public museums and fine art galleries. In all these ways we are seeking to make the education of our people continue throughout their lives."



Mark Twain

John Fiske

Our great humorist and one of our foremost historians

**Our later
men of
letters**

Achievements in Literature, Art, and Science.—The progress of our country during the later years of its history has not been limited to the upbuilding of our industries and to political, social, and educational reforms. Every year an increasing number of our people devote their lives to literature, science, and the arts. Newspapers and magazines are more numerous and more widely read than ever before, and hundreds of able writers in all branches of literature are pouring forth a constant stream of new books. Perhaps none of these later writers quite equal such men of letters as Emerson, Hawthorne,

and Lowell. But Bret Harte, William Dean Howells, and F. Marion Crawford are famous novelists; Walt Whitman and Sidney Lanier are poets of power, and James Whitcomb Riley is popular and widely read; Samuel L. Clemens, better known as Mark Twain, is our greatest humorist; John Fiske, John Bach McMaster, and James Ford Rhodes are foremost among our later historians; while Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson are almost as well known as writers as they are as statesmen.

Our recent achievements in the fine arts have been even



Anna Howard Shaw

Clara Barton

An influential advocate of equal suffrage for women and a great philanthropist who organized the American Red Cross Society.

more notable than our progress in literature. Among many brilliant American painters of the last fifty years, special mention may be made of the great portrait painter, John S. Sargent, and of Edwin A. Abbey, whose pictures adorn the walls of the Boston Public Library and of the capitol of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, whose noble statue of Abraham Lincoln stands at the entrance to Lincoln Park in Chicago, is perhaps first in a little group of great American sculptors.

But since the time of the Civil War most Americans of

The fine arts

Business,
invention
and
engineering

great ability have devoted their energies to business, or to invention, architecture, or engineering. The Wright brothers, who gave the world the aeroplane, will take their places in history side by side with Fulton and Stephenson. The architects who planned our "skyscraper" buildings, our palatial hotels, and our splendid railroad stations, like the Pennsylvania Station in New York and the Union Station in Washington, are worthy to rank among our greatest artists. The engineers who deepened the channel at the mouth of the Mississippi, who constructed the railroads across the Rocky Mountains, who tunneled the Hudson and built the Brooklyn Bridge, and who dug the Panama Canal are among the greatest benefactors of our people.

REFERENCES.

Paxson, *The New Nation*; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*; Muzzey, *An American History*; Dewey, *National Problems*; Latané, *America as a World Power*; Ogg, *National Progress*; Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Time*; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*; Pattee, *History of American Literature*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Evils of the Spoils System. Sparks, *National Development*, 154-164.
2. Civil Service Reform. Sparks, *National Development*, 182-201.
3. Theodore Roosevelt and His Policies. Muzzey, *An American History*, 593-599.
4. The Great Coal Strike of 1902. Latané, *America as a World Power*, 310-313.
5. The Reëlection of Roosevelt. Latané, *America as a World Power*, 224-241.
6. The Regulation of the Railroads. Ogg, *National Progress*, 40-58.
7. The Conservation of Our Resources. Ogg, *National Progress*, 96-115.
8. The Election of Taft. Ogg, *National Progress*, 1-18.
9. The Administration of Taft. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 837-843.
10. The "Muck-Rakers." Paxson, *The New Nation*, 309-323.
11. The Efforts to Purify Our Politics. Muzzey, *An American History*, 610-618.

12. The Rise of the Progressives. Paxson, *The New Nation*, 324-338.
13. The Aims of the Socialists. Muzzey, *An American History*, 518-620.
14. Woodrow Wilson and His Policies. Muzzey, *An American History*, I-VIII.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Novels: Churchill, *Coniston*; Mr. Crewe's Career; Garland, *The Forest Ranger*.

Art: Caffin, *The Story of American Painting*; *American Masters of Sculpture*.

Biographies: Gilder, *Grover Cleveland*; Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt*; Lewis, *Life of Theodore Roosevelt*; Ford, *Woodrow Wilson*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. Does the spoils system exist in the government of your city, county, or state? Can the government always find the best man for a position by means of competitive examination? Why?
2. Are candidates for office in your state nominated by direct primaries? Ask the voters you know if they think that this method of nomination is a good plan.
3. Why are the people of the western states less afraid than those of the East to try new methods in government? What are the arguments *for* and *against* woman suffrage? What cities in your state have the commission or the city manager form of government? How are they pleased with it?
4. What can be said in favor of socialism? What are the objections to it?
5. In what ways does the business of the country depend upon the railroads? Why is it unwise to permit young children to work in factories? What is done in your home community to prevent accidents?
6. What measures are taken by your local government to protect the health of the people? Can you suggest anything that ought to be done in your part of the country to conserve its natural resources?
7. Was the adoption of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution wise? Why?
8. What improvements have been made in the schools of your district in the last twenty years? What further improvements ought to be made?
9. What are ideals? What new social ideals are suggested in this chapter?

CHAPTER XXVIII

AMERICANS IN THE MAKING

The making
of Americans

The "Melting Pot."—The most important work going on in our country throughout its history has been the making of Americans of the people who have been constantly coming to its shores from the Old World. Since early colonial times men and women have been flocking to the New World from every land in Europe, and in our earlier history multitudes of Africans were brought here without their consent. A famous writer once called the United States a "melting pot" into which races from all lands were cast to be fused into one people. With the exception of Indians, all Americans have come out of this "melting pot," for we are all the descendants of immigrants from the Old World. Some of us have had ancestors in America for centuries; others belong to families which came only yesterday; but if we are true Americans we love and serve the United States before any other country.

Our
immigrant
ancestors

In one of the early chapters of this book we learned that many European peoples made contributions to the American "melting pot" in the old colonial days. The freedom-loving and home-making English sent the largest number; but the sturdy and enterprising Dutch and Swedes, the intelligent and upright French Huguenots, the plodding and thrifty Germans, and the hardy and aggressive Scotch-Irish, all helped in making the first Americans. Many Irish came to America just before the Revolution, and after that event the number of immigrants from the countries of western Europe grew slowly but steadily until it reached one hundred thousand in a single year for the first time in 1842. Since that date there have been only four years in which less than one hundred thousand foreigners entered our ports. We have already seen how the famine in Ireland in 1846 and the revolution in Germany in 1848 drove many of the sons of those countries to America during the next few years.

The greater part of the Europeans who have come to America since its earliest settlement have been earnest and

ambitious men and women who brought with them the best traits of character found in their home lands. Many of the good qualities they brought have been improved, and some new ones developed by the experiences of life in the New World. The privations and hardships which the colonists and pioneers endured while they were conquering the wilderness weeded out the weak and inefficient, but made the survivors more hardy and persevering than ever. The invigorating climate of America, its greater freedom, and the wider opportunities to make the most of their lives which it has ever offered newcomers from the Old World have all played their part in changing European immigrants into bold, energetic, and self-reliant Americans.

Most important of all are the beliefs and the ideals which must find their way into the minds and the hearts of those who are cast into the "melting pot" before they become true Americans. The genuine American believes that all men have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. By equality he does not mean equality in condition or in possessions but in privileges and opportunities. He holds that the people should choose their own rulers and that all just government depends upon the consent of the governed. To the American, freedom does not mean the right to do anything that he pleases, but rather a life governed by law, order, and fair play between man and man. Every dweller in our country who cherishes these ideals and stands ready to work for them, to pay

The influence of life in the New World



American ideals

© Publishers' Photo Service, N. Y.

The Promised Land

Immigrants from Europe catching their first glimpse of America, in which they see the statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," in New York Harbor.

taxes for them, and if necessary to fight for them, is a real American regardless of the land of his birth or the color of his skin.

Growth in
population

Our Later Immigrants.—The rapid growth of its population is one of the most striking facts in the history of our country. We have seen that the United States had thirty-one million inhabitants in 1860. This number grew to thirty-nine millions in 1870, to fifty millions in 1880, and to sixty-two millions in 1890. The seventy-six million people with which we entered the twentieth century in 1900 had become ninety-two millions in 1910, and the census of 1920 shows a population of more than one hundred and five millions in the United States. The population of our country is fully three times as great today as it was at the close of the Civil War.

The incoming
tide of
foreigners

A great incoming tide of immigrants is largely responsible for this remarkable growth in population. Fully twenty-five million Europeans have sought their fortunes in America during the last half century. The flow of this incoming tide of foreigners has not always been uniform. When business has been prosperous and work has been plentiful it has risen rapidly. In periods of hard times it has fallen off somewhat, but always many have come. In 1873 nearly half a million newcomers entered our ports. The panic of that year caused a decline in immigration for some time, but by 1882 the yearly addition to our population from this source had climbed to eight hundred thousand and in 1905 it passed the million mark for the first time. At the present time at least one person in seven living in our country came here from a foreign land.

Immigrants
from north-
western
Europe

Before 1885 the vast majority of the immigrants to our shores came from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. These were the lands from which the ancestors of most Americans had come in earlier days, and consequently the newcomers resembled the people already here, in language, religious beliefs, habits, customs, and ways of thinking. Moreover, the British, Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians came from lands which had progressive agriculture, thriving manufactures, skilled labor, and a considerable measure of self-government. It was an easy task to make good Americans of such people.

But about thirty-five years ago large numbers of people began to flock to America from the countries of southern and

eastern Europe. In recent years more than three-fourths of our immigrants have come from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Poland, and Russia. These newer immigrants differ widely from those who came earlier, in race, language, religion, customs, and habits of thought. Much of their labor is unskilled; their standard of living is lower than ours; many of them cannot even read and write; and they have had little experience in governing themselves. While many of these later comers are hardy and industrious people who are helping to build up our country, the

Immigrants
from south-
eastern
Europe



Showing Immigration to the United States Before and After 1885

problem of Americanizing them is more difficult. Some of them have no intention of remaining permanently in our country, but hope to make their fortunes here and then return to spend their later years in ease and comfort in their home lands.

The first settlers in America fled from political tyranny or religious persecution in their own countries, or came because they hoped to improve their condition in life in the New World. The latest immigrants have sought our shores for very much the same reasons. Many Germans and Italians have come to escape giving the best years of their lives to compulsory mili-

Why people
come to
America

tary service at home. Armenians and Syrians have fled from the tyranny of the Turkish government. Many Jews are in America because of the persecution of their race in Russia. But probably the hope of making a better living in the United States than they have ever known at home has lured the greatest number. Wages are low in southern and eastern Europe, and when venturesome young men who have migrated to America from those lands have written home about earning



Courtesy of the Ford Motor Company.

Americanizing the Alien

An open-air class at a great manufacturing plant.

as much money in a day as they had formerly earned in a week, it is little wonder that many of their relatives and friends have followed them to the land of promise. Then, too, the passage across the ocean could be made more quickly, cheaply, and safely than in earlier times, and the steamship companies have maintained agents in Europe who were constantly inciting and encouraging people to go to America.

The task of Americanizing the great host of recent immigrants would have been easier if they could have been scattered to all parts of the country, but most of them went quickly

to the great centers of industry where they could most easily find employment. Years ago when the work of the South was done by slaves, free laborers naturally shunned that section, and up to the present time comparatively few immigrants have sought homes south of Mason and Dixon's line. Many of the Germans and Scandinavians who came in large numbers about forty years ago settled upon the land in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas, but only a few of the Irish or of the later comers from the countries of southern and eastern Europe have become farmers in America. Vast numbers of these later immigrants and of their sons and daughters work in the factories of New England and New York, in the mines of Pennsylvania and of the Rocky Mountain states, in the steel mills of Pittsburgh, in the packing houses of Chicago and Kansas City, and in repairing the railroads, digging the sewers, and doing the heavy labor in all sorts of construction work. More than one-half of the foreign born inhabitants of our country are in the five great manufacturing states of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois.

Where
newcomers
live in our
country

The process of making Americans of our later immigrants is further hindered by the fact that they too often herd together in communities of their own in our manufacturing cities and mining towns. In such communities they continue to use their own language, rarely come in close touch with real Americans, and often live much as they did in their home lands. Too often the nature of their work tends to prevent them from becoming better men. When the earlier immigrant became a pioneer farmer he had to plan his own work and then do it alone or in coöperation with his neighbors. His daily life helped to make him an independent and self-reliant man. But most of the later immigrants who live in our great centers of industry, work under a boss and spend their lives in a monotonous round of daily toil which tends to make them mere cogs in a vast industrial machine.

Difficulties
in American-
izing the
later comers

The Negroes in Our Midst.—In addition to the horde of recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe we have in the United States over ten million native American citizens of African descent, many of whom are still very imperfectly prepared for the duties of citizenship. The European pioneers who developed our country represented the most highly civilized

The gulf of
difference
in race

racers in the world, and they brought with them the best things in their home lands. The negro slaves who were brought to America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were uncivilized people who had been captured or stolen by wicked slave-traders in the jungles of Africa. When they were thus brought to our country against their will black men had not yet learned many of the ways of civilized living and thinking which the members of the white race had been slowly learning for more than two thousand years.

The
influence
of slave life

Two centuries of slave life upon our southern plantations did much to lift the negroes out of their original barbarous condition. It taught them some of the habits and customs of civilized life and trained them in the simpler industries. It gave them the English language in the place of scores of African dialects, and introduced them to the truths and virtues of the Christian religion. On the other hand, the evils of slavery were far greater than any benefits it conferred. It kept the negroes in ignorance and superstition and prevented the proper development of these downtrodden people in truthfulness, honesty, industry and thrift, the fundamental virtues without which no race can travel very far along the road which leads to civilization.

The negro as
a freedman

Over fifty years ago the Civil War gave the slaves their freedom, but a life of slavery had done little to fit the negroes to use this priceless gift. In an earlier chapter we have seen how the freedmen fell under the influence of unscrupulous politicians, what woes the resulting carpetbagger rule inflicted upon the South, and how the white men of that section at last overthrew it. Since that time the white people of the South have been steadfast in their determination to keep the political and social control of their communities in their own hands and to prevent by every means in their power the fusion of the white and the black races.

A great
negro leader

But Booker T. Washington, the wisest and most influential leader that the negro race has ever had in America, insisted that his people could be good and loyal Americans without mingling in any social way with their white neighbors. "In all things that are purely social," he told a white audience at Atlanta in 1895, "we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." In the belief, as he said in the same speech, that "the opportunity to

earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house," Booker T. Washington devoted his life to training negroes in industry in a great school which he built up at Tuskegee, Alabama.

But the negroes who are getting an excellent training at Tuskegee, and in other schools like it, are only a handful among the millions of their race in America. Still, some progress toward the day of better things for the black man is being made. Some negroes have acquired property and a fair measure of education, and many more, though still poor, are decent and hard-working men and women. But too many black men in our country are still deprived of the opportunity to become progressive and thrifty. The task of training the members of this backward but brave, cheerful, and affectionate race for intelligent and useful American citizenship is one of the greatest problems that confront our people at the present time.

The race problem

Keeping Out the Undesirable.—For a long time no effort was made to shut out any foreigner who wanted to come to the United States. Instead, laws were passed to encourage immigration and to protect the newcomers upon their arrival. Most Americans felt, in the words of the poet Lowell, that their country had "room about its hearth for all mankind." We still welcome healthy, honest, industrious, and intelligent members of the white races; but when the great tide of immigrants began to pour into our country forty or fifty years ago, we began to see that it brought many worthless and dangerous people who ought to be excluded. It was also felt that there ought to be some restriction upon the coming of the yellow races of Asia, whose members did not readily become like our people in their ideas, habits, and ways of living.

Our earlier policy

The Chinese began coming to America soon after gold was discovered in California. They readily found employment on the Pacific Coast in building railroads and as gardeners and house servants, and a few of them became laundrymen in other parts of the country. Because they were accustomed to living upon a few cents a day, the Chinese worked for very low wages, and soon the white laboring men of California began to complain that the time was coming when they could no longer find work at living wages. As the Chinese continued

The exclusion of Chinese laborers

to come, many people in all parts of our country began to fear that some day we would have a Chinese problem as serious as our negro problem. For these reasons Congress passed a Chinese Exclusion act in 1882. This law, which has been renewed from time to time, excludes all Chinese laborers from the United States, but permits Chinese students, travelers, and merchants to enter. When the first law shutting out Chinese labor was passed, there were one hundred and thirty thousand Chinese in the United States, but at the present time there is only a little more than half that number.

Our understanding
with Japan

The Japanese began coming to a considerable extent to our country in the latter years of the nineteenth century. After 1900 the number of them in our Pacific states grew rapidly. At first they were looked upon more kindly than the Chinese, but soon organized labor began to demand their exclusion on the ground that their presence reduced wages and tended to lower the standard of living. In 1906 San Francisco tried to keep the Japanese out of its public schools, and a little later California passed laws intended to prevent them from owning land in that state. We now have an understanding with the government of Japan that it will not permit Japanese laborers to come to America, and since this arrangement was made very few Japanese have entered the United States.

The restriction of
European
immigration

The same year that we began to exclude Chinese laborers, Congress passed an act to prevent the admission of undesirable persons from Europe, and several other laws with the same purpose have been passed at various times since 1882. It is the aim of these immigration laws to exclude from the United States all those who are physically, mentally, or morally unfit to mingle with our people. Accordingly, we shut out persons afflicted with tuberculosis or with any loathsome or contagious disease; paupers and persons likely to become paupers; laborers who were under contract to work in America before they came here; all insane and feeble-minded persons; criminals; persons who intend to engage in immoral practices; and anarchists or those who want to destroy the government by violence.

The literacy
test

These restrictions upon immigration have kept out some undesirable and dangerous persons, but they have not much lessened the vast number of aliens who enter our gates every year. For a long time many of our people have believed in

shutting out all adults who cannot read, because this would exclude a large number of immigrants who belong to the more backward races of Europe. Three times Congress has adopted this literacy test, as it is called, only to have its action vetoed successively by Presidents Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson, on the ground that it was not right to close our doors to immigrants of good character and ability, simply because they had never had an opportunity to learn to read. But early in 1917 Congress succeeded in passing the literacy test over President Wilson's veto, and since that time, with a few exceptions, no foreigner



A Congested City Quarter

over sixteen years of age has entered the United States unless he was able to read. This law will tend to reduce the number of immigrants from Italy, Hungary, Russia, and the Balkan States.

Americanizing the Newcomers.—When we see the overcrowded quarters and unsanitary surroundings of the recent immigrants who throng the slums of our great cities, or the sordid conditions in the midst of which many of them live in our mining districts, we may well wonder if it is possible to make good Americans of them in such unattractive and unhealthful places. It is true that the task would be far easier if we should improve housing and living conditions in these places, as we ought, but even in the midst of the most un-

Difficulties

**The
influence of
American
life**

favorable surroundings many influences are at work changing the aliens who come to us into Americans in thought and life. The newcomer from a foreign land cannot walk our streets or go about his daily work without seeing American ways of living and feeling something of the American spirit and of American ideals. The moving picture theaters and other popular places of amusement give him some American ideas, and the public playgrounds help to bring his children and American children together. Even if the immigrant never learns the language of his adopted country his children are sure to speak English.

The trade-unions of our country have played a very



F. E. Bach, Director of Americanization, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
Schoolroom for Foreign Children

Teaching American customs and the English language to children of aliens.

**The work of
the trade-
unions**

important part in leading the adult immigrants to desire American ways of living and to strive after them. For example, the United Garment Workers, a large part of whose members in New York City are Jewish immigrants, succeeded in abolishing the sweatshop system in that city and managed to secure higher wages for its members and to shorten their working day. Likewise the United Mine Workers, ninety per cent of whose members are of foreign birth, improved working conditions in the mines, reduced the hours of labor, and greatly increased the wages of its members, thus helping many a poor immigrant to adopt an American standard of life. The trade-unions also bring the newcomers into touch with American

workmen, urge them to become naturalized, and lead them to think and act as Americans. In his labor-union the new citizen learns to take an interest in public affairs, gains courage and self-confidence, develops foresight, and is taught to elect and to obey his own officers. He thus learns the first principles of good citizenship in a self-governing country.

But the public school is the most far-reaching and influential of all the agencies that are helping to make Americans. It begins by giving the children of the immigrants of every race a common language, the English speech of their new country. It tends to remove any hostile feelings that may have existed between nationalities that formerly quarreled or clashed with one another in the Old World and to make all the children think of themselves as Americans. It teaches them the songs of American patriotism, the stories of American heroes, and the history of American institutions. It quickens and enlarges their minds, stimulates their ambitions, and inspires in them higher aspirations and nobler ideals. In all these ways our public schools are training a vast host of young Americans, native and foreign-born alike, for loyal and useful citizenship when they become men and women.

**The public
school makes
Americans**

REFERENCES.

Ross, *The Old World in the New*; Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*; Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigrant Problem*; Steiner, *The Immigrant Tide*; Haworth, *America in Ferment*; Washington, *The Story of the Negro*; Ogg, *National Progress*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. What is an American? Henry Van Dyke, *The Americanism of Washington*, 16-20.
2. The Original Make-up of the American People. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 2-23.
3. The Irish in America. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 24-45.
4. The German Element in Our Population. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 46-66.
5. The Scandinavians. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 67-92.
6. The Italians in America. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 95-119.
7. Our Slavic Immigrants. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 120-140.

8. A Black Boy's Struggle for an Education. Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 42-62.

9. Booker T. Washington's Address at the Atlanta Exposition. Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 217-225.

10. The Social Effects of Immigration. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 228-256.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

The Experiences of Americans in the Making: Steiner, *On the Trail of the Immigrant*; Mary Antin, *The Promised Land*; Riis, *The Making of an American*; Ravage, *An American in the Making*; Washington, *Up from Slavery*; Dubois, *The Souls of Black Folk*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. In what ways does the physical geography of your home community influence the life of its people? What advantages had boys and girls in pioneer times that they do not have now? What advantages have you that the children of the pioneers did not possess? Would you prefer to grow up in the city or in the country? Why?

2. How many of the children in your school were not born in America? How many of them are native born but have parents who came from Europe? To what countries in Europe can you trace your own ancestry?

3. What can white Americans do to help black Americans to become better citizens? In what ways can our negro citizens help themselves?

4. What arguments can be advanced in favor of admitting Chinese and Japanese laborers to the United States? Do you favor the literacy test for all immigrants? Ought immigration to be restricted further? Why?

5. In what ways can we help newcomers to our country in becoming good Americans?

CHAPTER XXIX

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD

Our American Neighbors.—In his Farewell Address Washington urged his countrymen to steer clear of all entangling relations with other nations, and for many years our people were so absorbed in developing their own country that it was easy for them to follow his advice. But as the nineteenth

The Pan-American movement



The Latin-American Lands about the Caribbean Sea

century drew to a close, we began to cultivate closer relations with the Latin American countries south of us in the hope of increasing our trade with them. James G. Blaine was especially interested in this policy, and when he was secretary of state in President Harrison's cabinet, a great Pan-American Congress, or meeting of delegates from all the countries of North and South America, was held in Washington in 1889. Since that time similar conferences to promote friendship

among the nations of the New World have been held in the City of Mexico, in Rio Janeiro, and in Buenos Aires, and now these nations maintain a Bureau of American Republics at Washington to help the people of their respective countries to become better acquainted with each other and to encourage commerce among them.

One hundred years ago the United States warned the nations of the Old World to keep their hands off the states of North and South America. In all our later history we have shown a steadfast determination to maintain the Monroe

The Monroe Doctrine maintained and discussed



The Pan-American Union Building

The international organization maintained by the twenty-one American Republics.

Doctrine. When a dispute arose in 1895 over the location of the boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela, and Great Britain refused President Cleveland's request to arbitrate the matter, Cleveland promptly sent a message to Congress declaring that the United States ought to investigate the question for itself, and that when it had determined what was the rightful boundary of Venezuela it ought to maintain that boundary by every means in its power. Great Britain yielded before this forceful stand and agreed to arbitrate her difference with Venezuela. In 1902 Great Britain and Germany blockaded

the Venezuelan ports to collect claims of their subjects against that country, and only the positive warning of President Roosevelt kept Germany from landing troops in Venezuela. But by this time it was beginning to be seen that if we did not let European powers interfere with small American nations we must not permit the little American states to defraud their European creditors. Accordingly, when the little negro republic of Santo Domingo would not pay its debts we took charge of its financial affairs, and by an agreement with that island state we still manage them. In 1911 we made a similar financial arrangement with Nicaragua, and two years later that country practically put itself under the protection of the United States.

As the American people and their Canadian neighbors speak the same language and are very much alike in their industrial, social, and political life, it is natural that the relations between them should be peculiarly intimate and friendly. Neither fortresses nor soldiers guard their common boundary line of more than three thousand miles. Many Canadians have migrated to the United States, and large numbers of American farmers have found new homes in the wheat-growing provinces of the Canadian Northwest. Differences over the right to fish off the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador, about the right to catch seals in Bering Sea, and over the boundary line between Canada and Alaska have arisen from time to time between Canada and her mother country, Great Britain, on the one side and the United States on the other, but these matters have all been peaceably settled by impartial arbitration.

Friendly
relations
with Canada

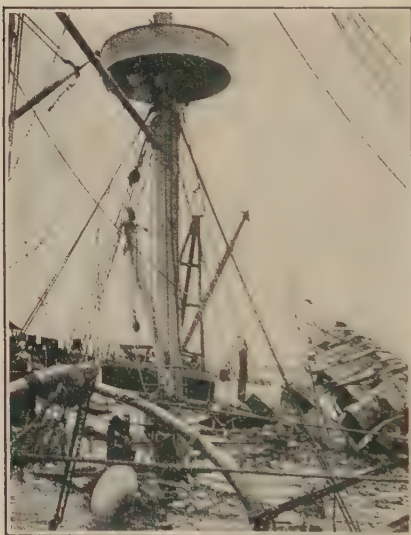
The War with Spain.—We have seen how the Spaniards colonized the West Indies and conquered Mexico and a large part of South America during the first half of the sixteenth century. Early in the nineteenth century the Spanish colonies on the mainland won their independence, and the island provinces of Cuba and Porto Rico were all that Spain retained of her once vast empire in America. In 1868 the Cubans began to fight for their freedom, but after struggling for ten years they were forced to yield. By 1895, Spanish misgovernment in Cuba could be borne no longer, and a second revolt broke out in that island. In the war which followed, both sides were guilty of glaring outrages. The country was laid waste, and finally the Spanish captain-general required the inhabitants of

The Cuban
struggle for
freedom

Cuba to gather in the towns held by the Spanish troops where many of them starved to death.

Causes of
our war
with Spain

Our people sympathize with a struggle for liberty anywhere in the world, and in this case their hearts were touched by the stories of Cuban suffering, and their anger was aroused by the reports of Spanish cruelty. Then it was natural that Americans who had invested large sums of money in sugar plantations in Cuba should want to see peace prevail in that island. In February, 1898, our battleship *Maine* was blown



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.
General view of the wrecked Battleship *Maine*
in Havana Harbor.

up while at anchor in the harbor of Havana, and a large part of its crew were killed. Though the author of this act was unknown, public opinion in the United States held the Spaniards responsible for it and the demand for war grew intense. For a time President McKinley tried to avert war by negotiations with Spain, but without success, and at last he laid the whole matter before Congress with the suggestion that American interference to stop the destructive conflict in Cuba was justified by humanity and by our national interests. On

April 19, 1898, Congress declared that the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent, and demanded that Spain at once withdraw from that island. Spain treated this demand as a declaration of war and hostilities soon began between the two countries.

Dewey's
victory at
Manila

The contest opened with a brilliant naval victory in the Far East. When war was declared, Commodore George Dewey was at Hong Kong with a small American fleet. He sailed at once from that port for the Philippine Islands, Spain's chief

possession in the Orient. On May 1, 1898, Dewey boldly entered the harbor of Manila, the capital of the Philippines, and destroyed the Spanish fleet which he found there, without the loss of a ship or a man. Dewey could have taken the city of Manila at once, but he did not have enough men to occupy it. Troops were sent to his aid from the United States, and after their arrival Manila was captured and Spanish rule in the East came to an end.

Meanwhile our home fleet under Admiral Sampson began to blockade the Cuban ports and to watch for a Spanish



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.
The Battle of Manila Bay

squadron which was reported to have sailed for America. The Santiago campaign Cervera, the Spanish admiral, managed to slip into Santiago harbor unobserved, but he was soon blockaded in that port by the American warships. A few days later Lieutenant Hobson, with a crew of seven seamen, in a gallant attempt to bottle up the Spanish ships, sunk the collier *Merrimac* in the entrance to Santiago harbor. This heroic enterprise failed of its purpose because the *Merrimac* did not sink at the exact spot selected, and Hobson and his men were taken by the

Spaniards. It was then decided to send a military force against Santiago, but the expedition was delayed by the lack of preparation and by bad management in the army. At last, General Shafter landed on the Cuban coast east of Santiago with about sixteen thousand men. On July 1st the Americans fought the land battle of Santiago, in which they captured El Caney and San Juan Hill. The Rough Riders, a volunteer regiment of cavalry led by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, won fame by its conduct in this fight. After this battle the American army threatened the city of Santiago. To escape capture in Santiago harbor, the Spanish fleet made a dash for the open sea, and on July 3d it was destroyed to the last ship in a great running fight off the southern coast of Cuba. Two weeks later Santiago surrendered, and soon after its fall, Shafter's troops, who were suffering severely from malarial fevers, were brought north to Long Island. In the meantime General Miles led an American force against Porto Rico, but before the occupation of that island was completed the news came that Spain had agreed to make peace.

The treaty of
peace

A treaty of peace between Spain and the United States was signed in Paris in December, 1898, and ratified by our Senate early the following year. By this treaty, Spain gave up her claim to Cuba and ceded Porto Rico and the island of Guam in the Pacific to the United States. She was also forced to cede the Philippine Islands to us for twenty million dollars.

Results of
the Spanish
War

The Spanish War made our people justly proud of their navy, and at the same time it revealed a sad lack of preparation in the army. There was much confusion and inefficiency in the management of the war department, and the sanitary conditions in the camps were so bad that many more soldiers died of disease than were slain in battle. This war gave us territorial possessions whose inhabitants were not yet ready for self-government and imposed upon us the task of fitting them for it. At the same time it bound the North and the South more closely together, won for our country the respect of foreign nations, and opened a new era in our history in which we were destined to play a larger part in the affairs of the world.

Porto Rico

Our New Possessions.—After the Spanish War, Porto Rico and Cuba were occupied for a time by the armies of the United States. Porto Rico, which had been ceded to us by Spain, was soon given a form of territorial government, and in

1917 the Porto Ricans were made citizens of the United States and given a larger share in the management of their own affairs. Porto Rico has prospered under American control; many schools have been established; good roads have been built; and the sugar crop of the island is five times as large as it was in the days of Spanish rule. In 1917 the United States bought from Denmark a small group of islands just east of Porto Rico, in order to strengthen its grip upon the West Indies.

When our country entered the Spanish War, Congress declared that we had no intention of annexing or controlling Cuba, but when the war was over it was necessary for our troops to occupy the island until the Cuban people could set up a government of their own. General Leonard Wood, our military governor in Cuba, was very successful in restoring order in that distracted island, in cleaning up its cities, and in preparing the way for a return to prosperity. The Cubans agreed to let the United States supervise their foreign affairs and their finances, and keep order in their country if they

failed to do it themselves. With this understanding our soldiers were withdrawn in 1902, and the Cubans established a republic of their own. In 1906 there was an uprising against the president of Cuba, and we were forced to enter the island to restore order. When this was accomplished we withdrew again, and since that time the Cubans have succeeded in governing themselves.

The Philippine Islands, sovereignty over which we acquired as a result of the Spanish War, contain about eleven million inhabitants scattered among hundreds of islands. They are



© International News Service, N. Y.
Major General Leonard Wood

Our relations
with Cuba

Insurrection in the Philippines



The Philippine Islands

throughout the islands. The people were permitted to have a large share in the management of their affairs and the Philippine

a peaceful, hospitable, and progressive people. The Filipinos, like the Cubans, had rebelled against Spanish tyranny; and when they learned that our government, which thought that they were not ready to rule themselves, did not mean to recognize their independence at once, they rose in revolt against the United States. Under the leadership of General Emilio Aguinaldo they held out for about two years. But after much hard fighting the insurrection was at last stamped out and the authority of the United States was firmly established

Progress under American guidance



Reproduced by permission of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum.
A Group of Graduates at the Manila Normal School, Philippine Islands

government may be said to be a government largely of Filipinos assisted by Americans. The government of the United States formally promised that American sovereignty should be withdrawn and Philippine independence granted "as soon as a stable government can be established."

In 1893 the white residents of the Hawaiian Islands, most of whom were of American descent, drove out the native queen and sought to have Hawaii annexed to the United States. At first their request was not granted, but the Spanish War opened the eyes of our people to the importance of the Hawaiian port of Honolulu as a naval station and stopping point on the road from the United States to the Philippines, China, Japan, and Australia and the value of the Hawaiian Islands as producers of sugar cane and other tropical crops. Accordingly, while that war was going on, Hawaii was annexed, in 1898. The next year we acquired the island of Tutuila in the Samoan group in the south Pacific with its splendid harbor of Pago Pago.

Hawaii
annexed

Our Policy in the Far East.—Our interest in commerce upon the Pacific was greatly quickened by the acquisition of Hawaii and the Philippines. These islands were stepping-stones which brought us to the door of the Orient whose rich trade had attracted venturesome merchants ever since the Middle Ages. Indeed, as you will remember, America was discovered and its coasts explored by bold mariners who were seeking a new and safer route to the Indies. After the Spanish War we anticipated a growing trade with the Far East. We not only expected to continue to buy its tea, spices, and silk, but we hoped to find in it a new market for our flour, lumber, and machinery.

Trade with
the Orient

We found eager rivals for the trade of China. Russia, Germany, Great Britain, and France had already secured footholds upon the coast of that country and were seeking to extend their control over considerable parts of its territory. Each of them hoped to keep for its own people the exclusive right to trade with the section of China which it controlled. There was grave danger that China would be partitioned among the commercial nations of the world. Of course, the Chinese objected to this procedure, but as they had neglected to make any preparation to defend their country, they were at the mercy of its greedy neighbors. Our people looked with great disfavor

We insist
upon the
"open door"
in China

upon the possible partition of China. They did not want to take any part in it, and they saw that if it went on there would be little Chinese trade left for them. John Hay, our secretary of state, insisted that the citizens of every country must have equal chances to trade in China. This he called the policy of the "open door."

Early in 1900, while the nations concerned were still discussing the "open door" policy, a serious outbreak occurred in China. A Chinese society called the Boxers secured control of the government at Peking, ordered the foreign ministers to leave the country, and tried to kill all the foreigners they could

find. The German ambassador was murdered in the streets of Peking, and the representatives of all the other nations were closely besieged in the British embassy. They made a gallant resistance and finally were rescued by a military force sent by the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Japan. The Boxer uprising was suppressed and China was compelled to pay heavy damages to the nations whose citizens had suffered losses in it. Our share of this money was twenty-four million dollars, and when we found that our real



From Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Loading for South America, Japan and China.

damage was only eleven millions we returned the balance of the money to China. This act won the gratitude of the Chinese, and they are using the income from the returned indemnity to pay the expenses of Chinese students in American schools and colleges.

During the negotiations which followed the Boxer uprising, Secretary Hay succeeded in persuading the European powers to accept the "open door" policy in China. This diplomatic victory saved China from further partition. In 1904 the rival interests of Russia and Japan in northern China led to a war in which Japan was brilliantly successful. The next year peace

**The Boxer
uprising in
China**

**Later devel-
opments in
the Far East**

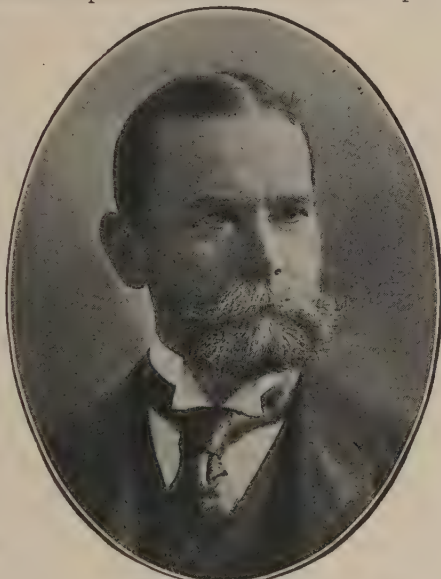
was brought about between the warring nations through the intervention of President Roosevelt. As time passed, the Chinese, who had made their country a republic in 1912, began to realize that they had more to fear from Japan than from the powers of Europe. During the World War, which began in 1914, Japan seized the German territory on the Chinese coast and made demands upon China which leave that country little better than a vassal of its island neighbor. Our country cannot help but look with disfavor upon these encroachments upon the rights of the Chinese.

The Panama Canal.

—Men had dreamed of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic and the Pacific ever since Balboa planted the flag of Spain at Panama, but for centuries nothing came of these dreams. In 1882 a French company headed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had dug the Suez Canal a few years before, began to cut a canal across the isthmus of Panama; but after spending two hundred and seventy-eight million dollars this company could no longer pay its bills and its work

stopped. Our people had long talked of a waterway to join the two oceans, and when, in the war with Spain, the battleship *Oregon* had to steam thirteen thousand miles from our western coast to join the American fleet in the West Indies they began to think seriously of the project. When the Spanish War ended, our new territories and growing commercial interests in the Pacific seemed to make an interoceanic canal a necessity.

Several preliminary steps had to be taken before we could actually begin to dig an isthmian canal. In 1850, when the



The idea
of an inter-
oceanic canal

John Hay
Through the efforts of Secretary Hay, the
"open door" policy in China was accepted.

Getting
ready to dig

rush to the Californian gold fields first turned our attention to a possible waterway across the isthmus of Panama, we had made a treaty with Great Britain which gave that country an equal interest with our own in any canal that might be built to join the two oceans. In 1901 this treaty was set aside by a new agreement, that the United States might build and control the canal and that it should be open to the ships of all nations on equal terms. Next we had to select a route for the canal. Some engineers preferred a line across Panama while others wanted to construct the canal through Nicaragua. Congress decided in favor of the Panama route if we could come to terms with Colombia, across whose territory the canal was to be located, and with the French company which had already done much work upon it. In 1903 Secretary Hay drew up a treaty with the representative of Colombia by which our government agreed to pay that country ten million dollars in cash and a yearly rental of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for a strip of land six miles wide across the isthmus. The Colombian government rejected this treaty in the hope of getting more money from the United States. Fearful that the United States might turn to the Nicaragua route the people of Panama declared their independence of Colombia and set up a government of their own. President Roosevelt promptly recognized the new state of Panama, and quickly made a treaty with it by which the United States secured control of a canal zone ten miles wide on practically the same terms that we had offered to Colombia. Then it was an easy matter to buy the right of the French company for forty million dollars.

"Making the
dirt fly"

Before we did any actual digging upon the canal a vast amount of work was done to make the isthmus a healthful place for the workmen. Its cities were cleaned up, its swamps drained, and other preventive measures were taken against malaria and yellow fever. When everything was ready we began, in the language of President Roosevelt, to "make the dirt fly," and in spite of innumerable difficulties, the work was pushed with such vigor that the canal was opened to the world in 1914.

Description
of the canal

The Panama Canal is the greatest triumph of engineering in modern times. Starting from the Atlantic Coast this canal runs at sea level for eight miles. Then an immense dam turns the valley of the Chagres River into a lake twenty-two miles

long, and ships of the largest size are lifted to the level of this lake by means of the famous Gatun locks. After proceeding across the lake and through the deep Culebra cut, they are lowered by other locks to sea level near the Pacific end of the canal. The success of this great undertaking was due in large measure to the skill and leadership of the army engineer in charge of it, Colonel G. W. Goethals.



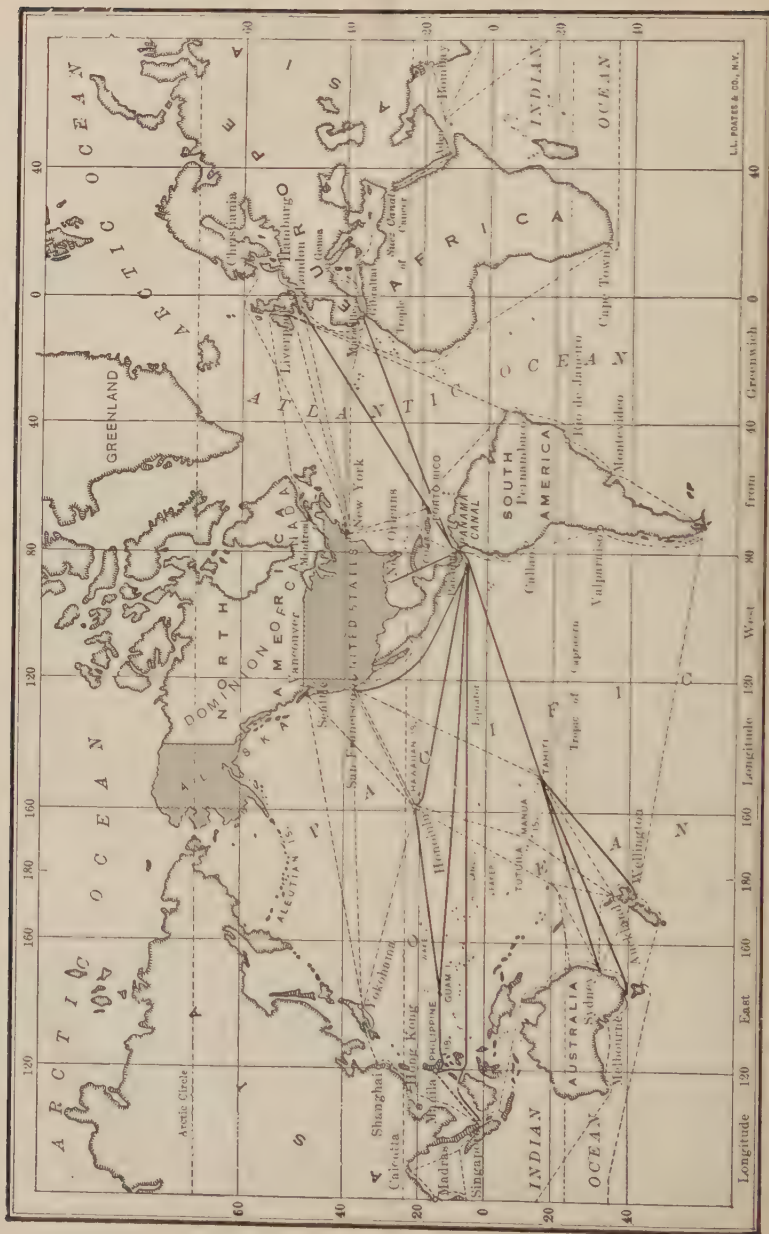
Photo by Brown Bros.

The Panama Canal

The U. S. Battleship "Wisconsin" passing through Gatun Locks on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus. Ships are towed through the locks by the electric locomotives seen on both sides of the lock chamber.

The opening of the Panama Canal was an event of great importance in the history of our country and of the world. It almost doubled the value of our navy by enabling our warships to pass quickly back and forth between our eastern and western coasts. It brought New York and San Francisco more than eight thousand miles nearer by sea than they were before, quickened trade by giving all our Atlantic and Gulf cities easier access to the Pacific, and lowered freight rates between our eastern and our western coasts. It particularly benefited the

**Importance
of this great
work**



The United States and its Dependencies and the Principal Ocean Trade Routes of the World
The heavier lines show the routes made possible by the opening of the Panama Canal

people of our Mississippi Valley and Gulf states by giving them an easy water route by which their products can reach the markets of western South America, Australia, and the Orient.

Our Relations with Mexico.—Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821, but its people showed little fitness for self-government. For many years one revolution followed another in rapid succession. Between 1821 and 1877 the distracted country had about eighty presidents. In 1877 Porfirio Diaz secured control of the Mexican government and kept it in his hands nearly all the time until 1911. In name, Diaz was the president of Mexico; in reality he was its dictator. Under his rule the country seemed orderly and prosperous, but its condition was actually very bad. The government was corrupt and the masses of the Mexican people were wretchedly poor and densely ignorant.

The history
of Mexico

Mexico is naturally a rich country. Its mineral resources are unsurpassed; its vast upland districts are well adapted to grazing; and its hot coastal plains contain splendid forests of mahogany and rosewood and are capable of producing sugar, coffee, cotton, rubber, and tropical fruits in great profusion. But there was little enterprise or capital in Mexico to develop these rich resources, and Diaz offered every inducement to foreign capitalists to invest their money in his country. Tempted by the prospect of enormous profits, many American, British, and German business men invested in Mexican mines, oil lands, orchards, rubber plantations, stock ranches, and railroads, and thousands of their representatives went to live in Mexico to look after these enterprises. The Mexican people saw the great natural wealth of their country rapidly passing into the hands of foreigners.

Foreign
interest in
the wealth of
Mexico

The autocratic rule of Diaz was supported by a ring of corrupt Mexican politicians and by the foreigners to whom he had granted rich concessions in Mexico. At last a Mexican patriot named Francisco Madero put forward a program of reform and took up arms against Diaz. This revolutionary movement spread so rapidly that in 1911 Diaz was forced to resign and leave the country and before the close of that year Madero was elected president of Mexico. But Madero could not win the support of all the Mexican people, and early in 1913 he was captured and assassinated by General Huerta.

Civil war in
Mexico

who thus became dictator of Mexico. General Carranza, who became the leader of the friends of the former Madero Government, refused to recognize the authority of Huerta and civil war continued in the country.

This was the situation in Mexico when Woodrow Wilson became president in 1913. He refused to recognize Huerta as the rightful ruler of Mexico and sympathized with the Mexicans who were trying to drive him from power. Many of our people wanted our government to interfere in Mexico to protect

Wilson's
policy of
"watchful
waiting"



© Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.
United States Soldiers in Action on the Mexican Border

American lives and property, but President Wilson felt that we ought not to meddle in the affairs of a neighboring republic, preferring to follow what he called a policy of "watchful waiting." Meanwhile the feeling in Mexico was growing more hostile toward Americans. In April, 1914, some sailors from one of our warships were arrested at Tampico where they had landed to buy gasoline. They were soon released, but the American admiral demanded that the Mexicans apologize by saluting our flag. Huerta refused this demand, and by the command of President Wilson our navy seized the city of Vera Cruz after a fight in which a few Americans and many Mexicans were

killed. Immediate war was averted through the efforts of Argentina, Brazil, and Chili to arrange a settlement between the United States and Mexico. In the meantime Carranza was steadily gaining ground and Huerta soon gave up and fled from Mexico. Before the end of 1914 our forces were withdrawn from Vera Cruz.

Scarcely was Carranza at the head of affairs in Mexico when a bandit named Villa led an insurrection against him in the northern states of that country. Lawless bands of men roamed here and there, killing any Americans who remained in that part of Mexico and stealing any property that they could find. Still our government took no action to protect its citizens in Mexico. At last, in March, 1916, Villa led a force of brigands across the Rio Grande, attacked the town of Columbus in New Mexico, and killed several of its citizens. Then with Carranza's consent, President Wilson sent six thousand men under General Pershing into Mexico to hunt down Villa and his force, but it proved easy for these bandits to keep out of the way of the American troops. About the same time a large force of militia was sent to defend our Mexican border. At the beginning of 1917 the American force under Pershing was recalled from Mexico, where it had accomplished very little. Mexican affairs were still in a very unsettled condition, and early in 1920 civil war broke out again in that distracted country. President Carranza was driven from the capital and killed, and later in the year General Obregon became president of Mexico.

American
troops on
the Mexican
border

REFERENCES.

Paxson, *The New Nation*; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*; Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*; Latané, *America as a World Power*; Ogg, *National Progress*; Lodge, *The War with Spain*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. The Venezuela Boundary Dispute. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 777-781.
2. The Causes of the War with Spain. Latané, *America as a World Power*, 3-28.
3. Dewey's Victory at Manila. Latané, *America as a World Power*, 29-38.
4. The Campaign against Santiago. Latané, *America as a World Power*, 46-54.

572 THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD

5. The Naval Battle of Santiago. Latané, *America as a World Power*, 54-57.

6. The Insurrection in the Philippines. Latané, *America as a World Power*, 82-99.

7. The Boxer Uprising in China. Latané, *America as a World Power*, 105-113.

8. The Republic of Cuba. Latané, *America as a World Power*, 175-191.

9. The Panama Canal. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, 814-822.

10. Our Trouble with Mexico. Ogg, *National Progress*, 284-304.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Stedman, *Cuba*; Scollard, *The Men of the "Maine"*; Hovey, *The Battle of Manila*; Page, *The Dragon of the Seas*; Guiterman, *The Call to the Colors*; *The Rush of the Oregon*; Woodberry, *The Islands of the Sea*.

Reminiscences: Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*; *Autobiography*; Evans, *A Sailor's Log*; Schley, *Forty-five Years under the Flag*; Funston, *Memoirs of Two Wars*; Miles, *Serving the Republic*; Hobson, *The Sinking of the "Merrimac"*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. What South American products do we need? What do the people of South America buy of us? Can you suggest any ways in which our trade with South America could be increased?

2. Did we have just cause for war with Spain in 1898? Where is Havana? Hong Kong? Honolulu? Manila? Santiago?

3. Was Aguinaldo a patriot or a rebel? Ought our country to give the Filipinos their independence? If so, when?

4. What is meant by the "open door" policy in China? Is this door in any danger of being closed now? Why?

5. What advantages has the Panama route over the proposed Nicaragua route for a canal? Did we wrong Colombia in acquiring the Panama Canal zone? Give a reason for your answer.

6. Was President Wilson's policy of "watchful waiting" in Mexico wise? Why? Would it be right for our country to make war upon Mexico to protect our citizens against the efforts of the Mexican government to recover from them the concessions which the Diaz government gave them?

CHAPTER XXX

OUR COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WAR

The War in Europe.—On the first of August, 1914, the world was startled by the outbreak of a great war in Europe. This war was caused by the ardent belief of the German people in their superiority over other races and by the wicked desire of their leaders to conquer and rule other countries. “We are the missionaries of human progress,” said the German emperor; “God has called us to civilize the world.” “Might gives the right to occupy or to conquer,” was the spirit of Germany. For forty years the German Empire had been growing in population, in wealth, and in readiness for war. When its rulers felt that they were fully prepared they took advantage of a controversy between Austria and Serbia over the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince, to provoke a war that

Causes

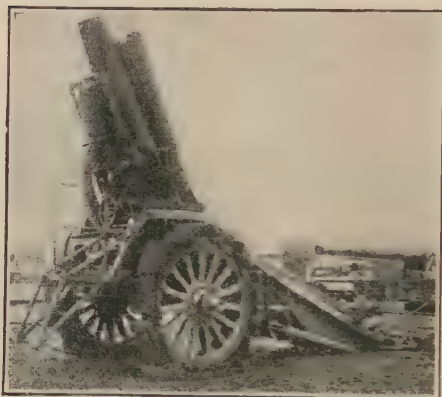


An American Soldier in the World War

was destined to have a far different outcome than they dreamed.

At first, Germany and Austria fought against Russia, France, England, and the smaller states, Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro. Presently Bulgaria and Turkey cast their lot with Germany, while the great powers, Japan and Italy, and Nations engaged

the lesser states, Portugal, Roumania, and Greece, joined the Allies. Indeed, before the war ended, nearly the whole world was



One of the Great Skoda Howitzers Used by the Germans to Destroy the Belgian Forts.

The western
front

drawn into it. Judged by the extent of the countries involved, by the immense number of men engaged, and by the frightful destructiveness with which it was waged, the war which Germany recklessly forced upon the world in 1914 was the greatest and the most terrible struggle in all history.

The Germans planned to crush France quickly, then to break the power of Russia, and finally to strike at Great Britain with all their might. But when they tried to invade France



Liège, Belgium

© Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

The ruin and desolation caused by German shells.

through neutral Belgium that brave little nation defended itself so vigorously that the German advance was delayed for ten days. Then the gray-clad German hosts swept on, driving the French armies and a small but heroic British force before them, until the ruthless invaders had almost reached the gates of Paris. Here the French turned at the command of their great leader, Marshal Joffre, defeated the Germans in the famous battle of the Marne, and hurled them back from Paris. The Germans then dug a line of intrenchments from the North Sea through northern France to Switzerland. Many bloody battles were fought along this line, but its position was not much changed for the next three years. In 1916 the Germans made a supreme effort to break through the French line at Verdun, but the heroic French said, "They shall not pass," and the Germans did not pass, though they lost half a million men in the attempt.

While the tides of battle ebbed and flowed along the western front the Germans and the

Austrians were also fighting hard against the Russians on the east. For a time the Russians resisted with the utmost gallantry, but they lacked supplies and in the end the Germans overran the western provinces of their country. Early in 1917 a revolution in Russia drove the Czar from power, and before the end of that year Russia was practically out of the war.



© Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Jerusalem Delivered

Triumphal entry of General Allenby into the Holy City after its capture by the British forces.

The eastern front

In the meantime fierce fighting was raging in many other places. The Italians and the Austrians were locked in combat upon the borderland of their countries. In the Balkan peninsula the Germanic powers devastated Serbia and conquered Roumania. A combined British and French expedition against Constantinople met a disastrous repulse at Gallipoli. There was also fighting in Asia and in Africa, where all of Germany's colonies were wrested from her.

Why We Entered the World War.—At first American

public opinion about the great war in Europe was divided. Some people favored Germany; a far larger number sympathized with the Allies and hoped that they would win. Many were confused about the questions at issue or indifferent about what seemed so far away from them. When the war began, President Wilson promptly declared that the United States would not take sides and appealed to our people to be neutral even in thought.



British Official Photograph
Tanks and Infantry Going into Action at Bapaume

"Every man who really loves America," he said, "will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned." When he said this the president hoped that by keeping out of the strife abroad we might be free to play a large part in restoring peace and prosperity when the war ended.

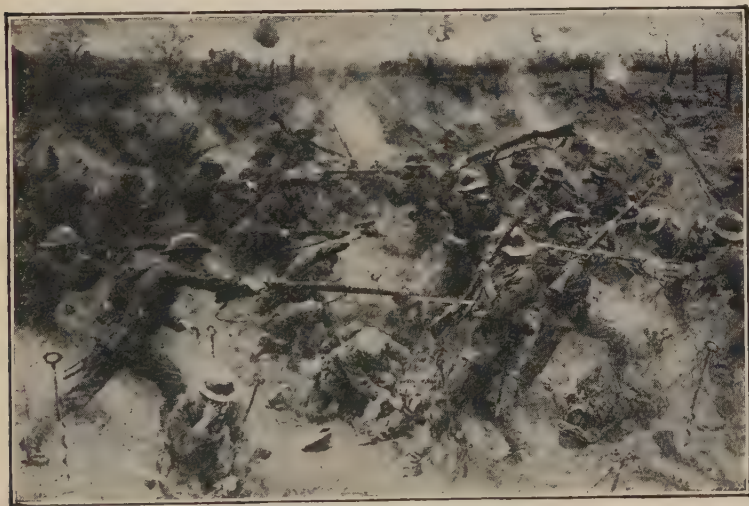
But it was impossible for Americans to be neutral in thought. They could not help condemning the wicked German invasion of Belgium, or admiring the plucky stand made by that little country, or being shocked by the horrid atrocities

**Other fields
of war**

**At first our
country was
neutral**

**The rising
feeling
against
Germany**

committed by the Germans in Belgium and France. Slowly our people found out that Germany was filling our country with spies, hiring American writers and speakers to plead her cause among us, trying to stir up labor troubles in our munition plants and factories, and seeking to foment ill feeling against us among our Latin American neighbors to the south. Day by day it was becoming clearer that the war was really a struggle between autocratic government and demo-



Hand-to-Hand Fight at Arras
British troops repulse a German attack under cover of gas.

cratic government, and that if autocracy won in Europe democracy would not be safe anywhere in the world.

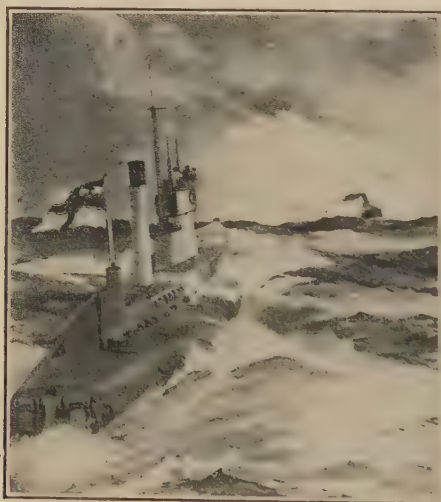
Early in the World War our ocean-borne commerce began to suffer very much as it had suffered during the long struggle between Great Britain and Napoleon one hundred years before. Great Britain made new rules declaring that copper, rubber, cotton, and oil—all articles which Germany needed—were contraband of war, and seized many American ships which were carrying these goods to Germany or to neutral countries, like Holland, from which they could easily be sent to Germany. Our government protested, but Great Britain refused to yield, and nothing further was done, because Great Britain must

**Interference
with our
commerce**

pay for the property she had taken if we could prove that she had really broken the law of nations by seizing it. Moreover, our people were slowly but surely coming to see that Great Britain and her allies were really fighting our battle in the heroic stand which they were making against the ruthless ambition of Germany.

In the meantime a far more serious controversy was beginning between the United States and Germany. The Germans began to complain bitterly because we were selling munitions of war to the Allies, as we had a perfect right to do if we could

The controversy over submarine outrages



A German Submarine Lying in Wait for a Steamer

deliver the goods. Then Germany threatened that her submarines would sink without warning British and neutral vessels found in a certain part of the sea around the British Islands, and on May 7, 1915, she did thus sink the great British ship *Lusitania*, drowning nearly twelve hundred passengers, of whom one hundred and fourteen were Americans. This atrocious crime—an act of wholesale murder—violated rules of warfare long recognized by all civilized nations, and some people thought it should have been promptly followed by an American declaration of war against Germany. But our people were yet far from united in this opinion, and President Wilson only carried on a correspondence with the German government which for a time resulted in nothing very definite. Meanwhile, other vessels were sunk by German submarines, and when American lives were lost by the sinking of the British passenger ship *Sussex* in the English Channel in March, 1916, President Wilson told Germany flatly that unless she warned vessels before sinking them and placed their pas-



SUNK BY A SUBMARINE—1918

© J. L. G. Ferris

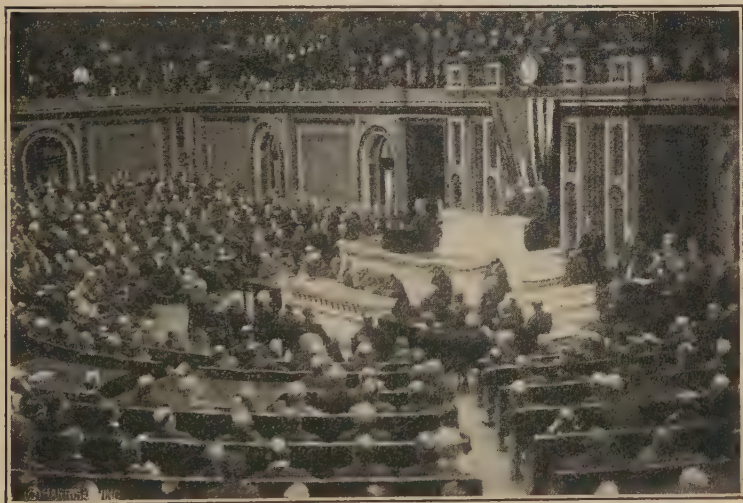
SUNK BY A SUBMARINE—1918

The loss of American lives through the persistence of Germany in sinking British and neutral vessels without warning and without placing their passengers and crews in safety was one of the causes of the entrance of our country into the World War in 1917. In the picture a great ocean liner has been torpedoed and set on fire and is taking its final plunge into the sea.

sengers and crew in safety, the United States would break off all relations with her. The German government promised to do this, and for a time it seemed as if war might be averted.

But on the last day of January, 1917, Germany informed the United States that on the next day she meant to renew her ruthless submarine warfare without further notice. About the same time we learned that Germany was trying to persuade Mexico to join with Japan in attacking the United States. President Wilson promptly dismissed the German ambassador

At war with
Germany



© Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

President Wilson Making His Historic Address to Congress Urging the Recognition of a State of War with Germany

from our country, and on March 12th he ordered the arming of American merchant ships against submarines. Finally, on April 2, 1917, the president went before Congress and urged it to recognize that a state of war already existed. Four days later Congress declared that our country was at war with Germany.

The spirit in which we entered the World War was eloquently stated by President Wilson. "We fight," he said, "for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The

President
Wilson
states our
cause

world must be made safe for democracy. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. . . . To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured."

**Our allies
encouraged**

How We Helped to Win the War.—Our entry into the war cheered the hearts of the weary peoples who had been fighting Germany for nearly three years. The knowledge that the Americans were coming to their aid did not give the English and the French more courage for they already had it to the utmost, but it did inspire them to fight on with a stronger faith in the final triumph of their cause. Soon after we declared war, Marshal Joffre, the victor of the Marne, Viviani, an eloquent French statesman, and Arthur J. Balfour, one of the foremost men in the British government, visited the United States. Everywhere they were received with wild enthusiasm. The English and the French generously gave our government the benefit of their experiences in the war, and at the same time they showed us how we could hasten the hour of final victory by providing the money, food, ships, and fighting men needed to bring that hour to pass.

**We furnish
money**

Our country was rich and we began at once to pour out our wealth like water to promote the cause to which we had devoted ourselves. Before the end of 1917 we loaned almost four billion dollars to Great Britain, France, Italy, and the other countries banded together against Germany. Nearly all this money was spent in the United States for food, clothing, machinery, and other supplies which the Allies needed. Within a few months Congress appropriated the enormous sum of twenty-two billion dollars for war purposes. Everything that money could do to hasten our preparation for war was done with a lavish hand.

All our allies needed our cotton and our copper, and France and Italy could not carry on very much longer unless we sent

them iron and coal. Every effort was made to furnish these necessary raw materials to the nations by whose side we fought. Most of all, the allied countries needed food for their armies and for their people. This we strove to save and send them. Herbert C. Hoover, who had proved his ability as the head of the American Relief Commission in starving Belgium, was put in charge of the food situation. By appeals to our people to

**We send
supplies and
food**



© By Committee on Public Information.

Drawing the Draft Numbers

Secretary of War Baker opening the first capsule and reading the number which called all men of that series to the colors.

"save the waste," by establishing meatless and wheatless days, and by limiting the sale of sugar, he made it possible to send to Europe vast quantities of these essential foods.

Large numbers of new ships were needed to carry food, raw materials, military supplies, and our soldiers to Europe. This was a vital necessity, for every month the German submarines were sinking many merchant vessels. To meet this need the government began to build ships on a vast scale. Under the leadership of our ablest business men, great shipyards were created almost as if by magic. In the meantime our

**We build
ships**

navy joined that of Great Britain in keeping the paths of the sea open to the commerce of the world by hunting submarines and by convoying ships through the danger zone.

We gave our men as freely as our wealth to save the world from the brutal ambition and autocratic power of Germany. As soon as we entered the war, our navy and our small regular army were recruited to their full strength and the national guard of the various states was called into the service of the nation. Presently a

**We send
fighting men
to France**



General John J. Pershing
Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Force.

'selective draft' law was passed, under which ten million young men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one were enrolled, and as fast as provision could be made for training them, they were selected by lot from this list and sent to the training camps. Later the draft law was extended to include all citizens between eighteen and forty-five years of age, and over thirteen million more men were enrolled under it. Thirty-two great training camps or cantonments were built in

various parts of the country. In a little more than a year and a half after we declared war against Germany we had two million men in Europe and as many more were in the camps at home getting ready to go. The splendid spirit of this mighty host is best expressed in one of its stirring songs:

"The Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming,
The drums rum-tumming everywhere,
We'll be over, we're coming over,
And we won't come back till it's over over there.

We must next follow our soldiers "over there" and see what they did to help win the war.

Fighting in France.—Not long after we declared war, General John J. Pershing, who had been selected by President Wilson to lead the American Expeditionary Force, established his headquarters in France. A little later the first American troops landed at a French port, where they were welcomed with the utmost enthusiasm. As fast as American soldiers reached France they were taken to training camps where they at once began intensive preparation for the grim work ahead of them.

Preparation
in France



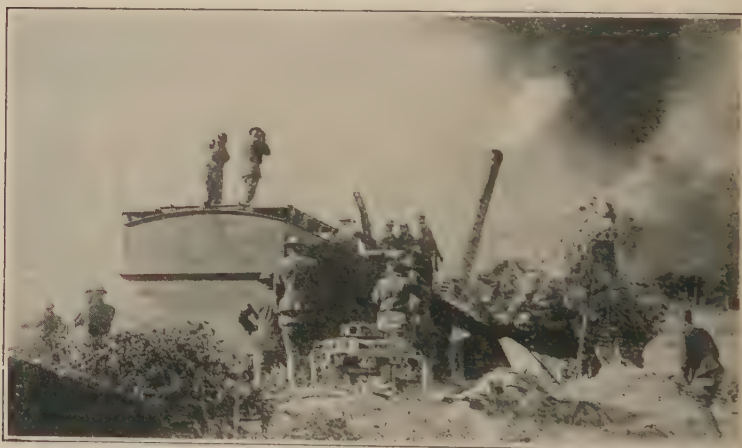
U. S. Official Photograph

In the Trenches in France
The American soldier on the right is preparing to throw a hand grenade.

In the meantime we were astonishing the world by what we were doing in France to support and care for the mighty host of Americans who were coming. Great docks were built; railroads were repaired and equipped; vast warehouses were constructed and filled with supplies; extensive hospitals were provided; and everything else was done that could minister to the health or to the efficiency of our men. While all this work was going forward, more American soldiers were crossing the Atlantic. By the beginning of 1918 we had three hundred thousand in training behind the western battle front.

**Changed
methods of
warfare**

Our soldiers in the World War found that the progress of science and invention since our Civil War a half century earlier had changed methods of warfare quite as much as it had transformed industrial life. They crossed the Atlantic in great transports which were convoyed by warships to protect them from the lurking submarines of the enemy. They grew accustomed to seeing aëroplanes giving battle in the clouds above them. Like their French and English allies and their German enemies, they were armed with repeating rifles, with machine guns firing hundreds of shots a minute, and with cannon which



U. S. Official Photograph

An American Heavy Gun on the Western Front

One of the huge long-range guns on railway mounts used by the American forces in blasting their way to Sedan.

threw the heaviest shells many miles. They were forced to wear gas masks to protect themselves from the poisonous gases which the enemy threw into their lines, and they were taught how to hurl still more deadly gases and liquid fire against the foe. When the time came they took their places in a battle line hundreds of miles in extent, all parts of which were connected by telegraph and by telephone. Observers in scouting aëroplanes watched the movements of the enemy and photographed the country behind his lines. The generals quickly passed from place to place in automobiles, the wounded were

carried to the hospitals in motor ambulances, and supplies of all kinds were brought to the front by great trains of motor trucks.

The collapse of Russia had greatly strengthened the Germans by permitting them to transfer large numbers of their soldiers from the Russian to the French front. By the spring of 1918, however, the rulers of Germany saw plainly that if they were ever to win the war they must do so before

**Terrific
German
drives on the
western
front**



U. S. Official Photograph

Commanders of the Allied Armies

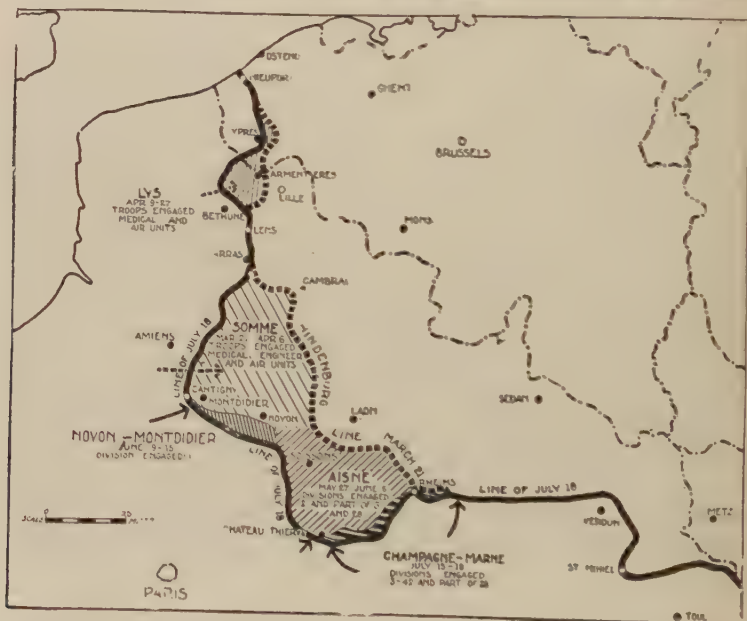
In the foreground, Marshal Petain, France. In line in the background, from left to right, Marshal Joffre, Marshal Foch, France; Field Marshal Haig, England; General Pershing, America; General Gillain, Belgium; General Albricci, Italy; General Haller, Poland.

many more of the coming host of Americans arrived. Accordingly, they began a series of terrific drives against the British and French lines. In March they advanced toward the important city of Amiens which they threatened but could not take. Just after this drive General Foch, a brilliant French soldier who had played a great part in winning the battle of the Marne in 1914, was put in supreme command of all the allied forces. In April the Germans pushed forward toward the

Channel ports but were checked with heavy losses. In May they launched an attack which carried them to the Marne and enabled them to threaten Paris once more.

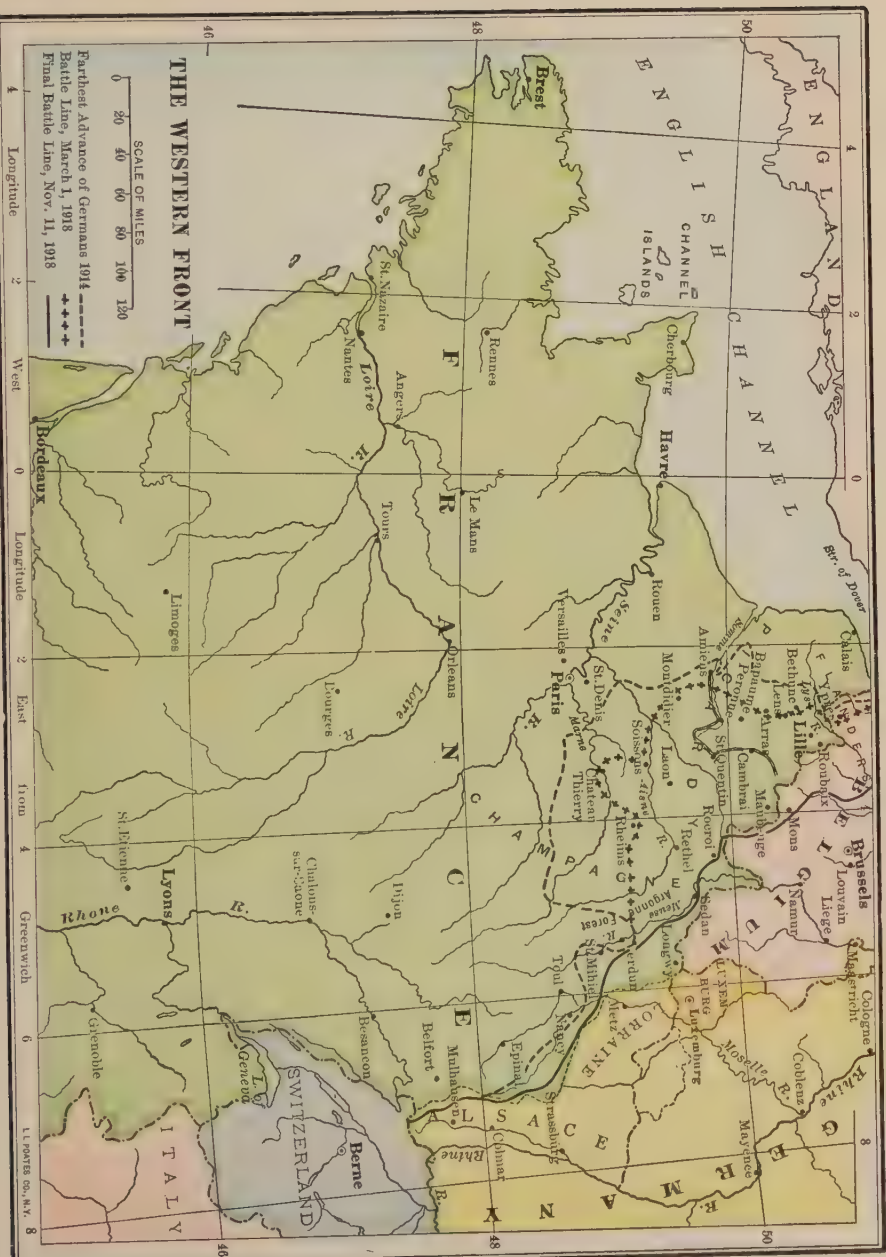
For some months after our soldiers arrived in France they were kept in training camps or stationed in quiet sectors of the long line from Belgium to Switzerland. Sometimes small detachments of them fought in company with British or French troops. But it was not until the great German drive toward

Our first
battles in
France



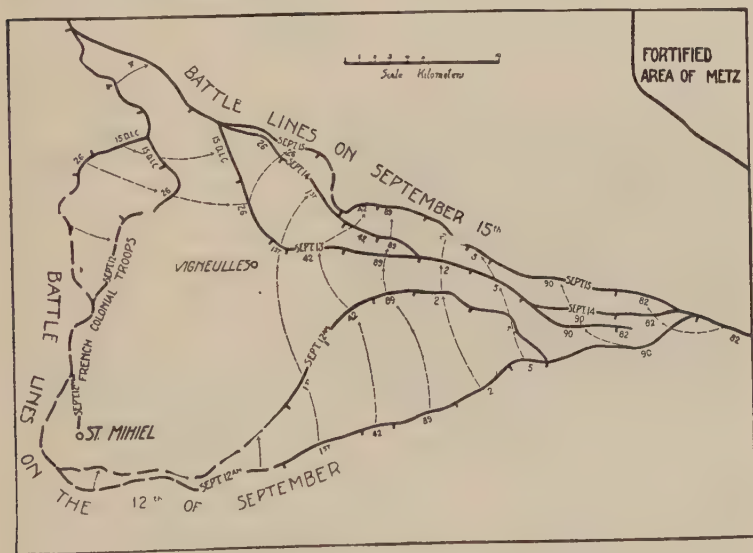
The Five Great German Offensives of 1918

the Marne in May, 1918, that American troops took a prominent part in the fighting. At Cantigny they won a small battle in a clean-cut way which gave the enemy a foretaste of what was coming. A few days later, at Chateau-Thierry, they hurled back a charge of the Prussian Guard and drove the Germans before them in a fierce counter attack. This victory was promptly followed by a brilliant action at Belleau Wood. Never have Americans fought more gallantly than they did in June, 1918, in their first battle in France.



On July 15, 1918, the Germans began their last great drive in France. Their first rush carried them across the Marne, but they were soon stopped by the French and the Americans. Then the allied forces drove the Germans back across the Marne and, in three weeks of stubborn fighting, recovered all the territory that had been lost in May and June. Our soldiers took an active part in this great struggle, and toward its end they especially distinguished themselves by taking and holding the town of Fismes.

The second battle of the Marne



The Battle of St. Mihiel
The numbers refer to the divisions of the American army engaged.

This second battle of the Marne was the beginning of General Foch's great offensive movement, an attack which never relaxed until the Germans begged for peace. Everywhere on the western front the British, French, and Americans hammered the German line so that the enemy had no time to rest or to reorganize his defense. By this time a quarter of a million Americans were pouring into France every month. Hitherto our men had fought as a part of the French army, but in September the American army, under the direct command

The allied offensive

St. Mihiel

of General Pershing, won a great battle at St. Mihiel. In this battle we captured nearly fourteen thousand prisoners, took hundreds of guns, and released many French villages which had been held by the Germans since early in the war.

The Meuse-Argonne campaign

In the general attack which Marshal Foch was now waging against the whole German line, the part assigned to the Americans was to drive the enemy down the Meuse Valley and out of the great Argonne forest which lies west of that river. If this movement succeeded it would cut one of the main railroads by which the Germans were supplied and put their entire army in a most dangerous position. On September 26, 1918, our army began the task with a dashing attack, and from that time



Briefly at Rest in the Argonne

American "doughboys" grouped about the entrance to their dugout.

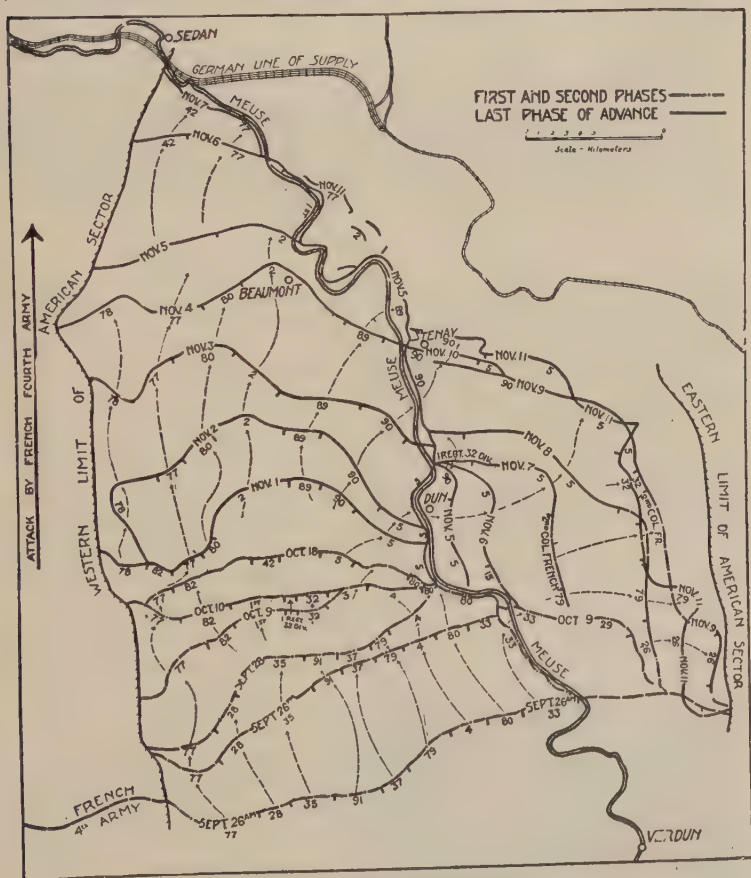
until the end of the war it was constantly engaged. The country over which we fought was broken, densely wooded, and strongly fortified. Every point of vantage was held by the Germans with machine guns. The enemy resisted stubbornly, but free Americans proved more than a match for the highly disciplined soldiers of autocratic

Germany. This was especially true when men fought singly or in little groups, as it was often necessary to fight in the dense forest of the Argonne. Day after day, in spite of heavy losses, the Americans pushed ahead until their task was accomplished. With one of their main roads to Germany cut, and knowing that the Austrians, Bulgarians, and Turks had already given up, the Germans asked for an armistice, and on November 11, 1918, the actual fighting of the world's greatest war came to an end.

War Work at Home.—The heroic and victorious service of our soldiers in France was made possible by the constant and ardent support which they received from our people at home. We were very slow to realize that our honor and our

**United in
purpose and
effort**

future safety required us to join in the war against Germany, but when we once saw this fact clearly we threw ourselves into the struggle with all our hearts and with all our vast resources. Never before in our history had we been so united in purpose



The Battle of the Meuse-Argonne
The numbers refer to the divisions of the American army engaged.

and in effort as we were during the trying days of 1917 and 1918. There had been doubt about the stand of millions of our people of German birth or German parentage in case of war with their fatherland, but when the war came most of them proved that



© Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
A Glimpse of the American Battleship Fleet

they were—in the words of President Wilson—"as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance."

Our government, as we have seen, appropriated immense sums of money to equip and maintain our army and navy, and to help our allies. It could only get the money by taxing the people or by borrowing from them. Both these methods were used. Soon after the war began, very heavy taxes were imposed upon the profits of industries and upon the incomes of individuals. In addition to the vast revenues from these taxes, many billions of dollars were borrowed from the people by selling them interest-bearing bonds. In every one of the five great "Liberty Loan" campaigns, as the bond-selling efforts were called, the people promptly loaned their money to help

Raising
money to
carry on
the war



A Liberty Loan Drive
Using a captured German submarine to get more
subscriptions.

Working
to win

our government carry on the war. As a consequence, millions of Americans, rich and poor alike, became the owners of Liberty Bonds.

Our people were equally prompt in meeting every other demand made upon them by their government. They accepted without

complaint many unusual restrictions upon their freedom to carry on business as they pleased. Early in the war the president took control of all the railroads in the country and operated them as one system in order to make them better serve the war needs of the nation. For the same reason all ships were seized for the use of the government. Prices were fixed upon wheat, sugar, coal, and steel, in order to prevent selfish men from making excessive profits upon these essential commodities. Workers flocked to the shipyards and munition plants, thousands of war gardens were planted, and the farmers of America toiled as never before to produce food for our armies and for the peoples warring against Germany. Many of our business men and our scientists gave up their own work in order to serve their country without pay.

Our people were equally zealous in their support of all the humanitarian societies which sought to promote the welfare of the soldiers. They joined the Red Cross by millions, and all over the land patriotic women worked in this society day after day to make the hospital supplies which were needed in vast quantities. At the same time the people gave freely of their money to support the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, and the Jewish Welfare Board, all of which were untiring in their efforts to be of real service to our men in camp and on the battlefields of France.

How Peace Was Made.—By the terms of the armistice which was signed on November 11, 1918, the Germans agreed to evacuate France, Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, and that part of Germany west of the Rhine, and all these regions were quickly occupied by the allied troops. The Germans also agreed to withdraw within the borders of their own country



U. S. Official Photograph
With the Salvation Army in France
Making doughnuts for the "dough boys."

Caring for
the men in
the army

Terms of the
armistice

on the eastern front and to renounce the treaties which they had imposed upon Russia and Roumania. Germany further promised to send home the prisoners she had taken, to restore the money she had stolen, to repair the damage she had done, and to surrender vast quantities of arms and war materials. Finally she agreed to give up all the submarines and the greater part of her fleet. In a word, by signing the armistice, the Germans acknowledged that they were thoroughly beaten.

Soon after the armistice was signed, a conference of all



© International Film Service
Surrender of the German High Seas Fleet to the Allied Fleets, at Scapa Flow, December 5, 1918, one of the Greatest Naval Events in History.

The Peace
Conference

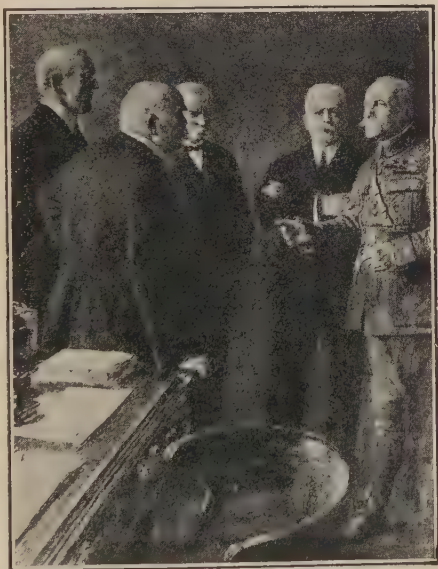
the nations allied or associated against Germany was called at Paris to determine the terms of peace. The United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan were represented at this meeting by five delegates each, while the smaller associated nations and British dominions each sent from one to three men. President Wilson decided to represent our country at the Peace Conference in person and appointed as his associates, Robert Lansing, his secretary of state; Edward M. House, Henry White, and General Tasker H. Bliss. The Peace Conference was a large body, but its most important decisions

were made by a Council of Four, consisting of President Wilson, and Prime Ministers Lloyd George of Great Britain, Clemenceau of France, and Orlando of Italy.

The Peace Conference assembled in January, 1919, and spent about four months in drawing up terms of peace with Germany. At the beginning of its work the conference resolved to include in the treaty of peace a plan for a league of nations. It then decided to require Germany to return Alsace-Lorraine

The terms
of peace

to France, to give up all her colonies, to recognize the independence of Poland and of the small nations into which Austria-Hungary was broken up, and to cede to Poland those parts of Prussia which were inhabited by Poles. Germany was also required to give up most of her shipping and to promise to build new ships for the Allies in order to replace the merchant vessels that her submarines had sunk during the war. Moreover, she must pay for all the damage caused by her wanton conduct in Belgium, France, and



Leading Figures at the Peace Conference

From left to right, President Wilson, Premiers Clemenceau, France; Lloyd George, England; Orlando, Italy; Marshal Foch, France.

other countries. She must agree to make a first payment of five billion dollars in gold on this account by 1921 and later to pay such further amounts as might justly be charged against her after investigation. In order to prevent Germany from again disturbing the peace of the world she was compelled to destroy many of her fortifications, to stop making war materials, to abolish her old military system, and to keep only a few ships of war and a small volunteer army in future.

Germany
accepts the
terms of the
Allies

Early in May, 1919, the representatives of Germany were invited to the Peace Conference and asked to sign the treaty which was handed to them. They objected to the hard but just conditions which the treaty imposed upon their country and spent several weeks in pleading for easier terms. Some minor changes were made in the treaty, and on June 16th the final conditions were presented to the Germans, who were told that if they did not accept them the Allies would resume operations against their country. When faced with this possibility, Germany gave way and agreed to accept the terms of the Allies.

Signing
the treaty

In 1870 Germany unjustly invaded France, captured Paris, and compelled the French to submit to humiliating terms of peace. On January 18, 1871, the grandfather of the German ruler who led his people in their wicked war of aggression in 1914-1918 was proclaimed German Emperor in the famous Hall of Mirrors in the old royal palace at Versailles near Paris. In the same room, on June 28, 1919, the representatives of Germany and the members of the Peace Conference signed the treaty which ended the German dream of world conquest.

The
covenant of
the league

The League of Nations.—One of the results of the terrible World War was the growth of a feeling that nations ought to do everything in their power to avert war in the future. This feeling led the Peace Conference to include in the treaty of peace a plan for a league of nations. The aim of the league is best stated in the preamble of its covenant.

Its preamble

"In order to promote international coöperation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as to actual rule of conduct among governments and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to this covenant of the League of Nations."

The organi-
zation of the
league

The covenant of the League of Nations provides that its affairs shall be managed by an assembly, a council, and a secretary-general. Each member of the league may send not more than three representatives to the assembly, but shall

have only one vote in that body. The council shall consist of one representative each from the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with the representatives of four other members of the league to be designated from time to time by the assembly. The secretary-general is appointed by the council with the consent of the assembly. It is his duty to keep the records of the league, and for this purpose he shall establish a permanent office at Geneva, Switzerland, which is to be the capital of the league. The original members of the league are named in its covenant, and other specified states are asked to join it at once. Any state not named in the covenant may be admitted to the league in future by a two-thirds vote of the assembly. After giving two years' notice of its intention so to do, any state may withdraw from the league.

The League of Nations undertakes to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of its members. It seeks to prevent wars in future by reduction of armies and navies to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and by providing for the settlement of disputes between nations by arbitration or by conciliation. The covenant of the league provides for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, and the members of the league agree to submit suitable questions to arbitration and to accept and carry out in good faith the decisions that may be rendered. If disputes which they are not willing to submit to arbitration arise between members of the league, they agree to submit them to the council, which shall investigate such disputes and shall do everything in its power to settle them according to the principles of right and justice.

If any member of the League of Nations resorts to war in disregard of the promises it made when it accepted the covenant of the league, it shall be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the league. In such case the other members agree to stop all trade and intercourse with the covenant-breaking state. If the council recommends such action, the military and naval forces of the states in the league may be used against an offending member. The council may also expel from the league any member who has violated the covenant.

How the
league
seeks to
prevent war

What the
league does
in case of
war

The Senate
rejects the
treaty of
peace

The first draft of the covenant of the League of Nations was published when President Wilson came home from Paris in February, 1919. It was criticized in some of its details in our country, and after the president returned to the Peace Conference in March it was revised to meet these criticisms and particularly to safeguard our interest in the Monroe Doctrine. Early in July, 1919, the covenant of the league as a part of the treaty of peace was submitted to the Senate for ratification. After months of discussion, during which many objections were

urged to the League of Nations, the Senate rejected the treaty and returned it to the President. This action delayed the formal making of peace with Germany. Meanwhile ratifications of the treaty were exchanged by the other allied and associated powers and Germany, and peace became effective for all the nations with the exception of the United States, January 10, 1920.



© Harris & Ewing
Warren G. Harding

The refusal of the Senate to approve the covenant of the League of Nations made the League an issue in the

The election
of 1920

presidential election of 1920. The Democrats advocated the immediate ratification of the treaty and nominated Governor James M. Cox of Ohio for the presidency. The Republicans denounced the covenant proposed by President Wilson but declared that they favored an agreement among nations to preserve the peace of the world. Upon this platform the Republicans named Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio as their candidate. The election resulted in a great victory for the Republicans. Harding carried thirty-seven of the forty-eight

states, received a popular plurality of over six million votes, and was elected by four hundred and four electoral votes to one hundred and twenty-seven cast for Cox. As a result of this election it seemed probable that the covenant of the League of Nations would be very much modified or a new agreement proposed by our country. The ratification of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution in 1920 made the election of



© Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

Return of the Victorious American Armies
Parade in New York of the famous First Division led by General Pershing.

that year the first one in our history in which the women of the whole country voted on the same terms as the men.

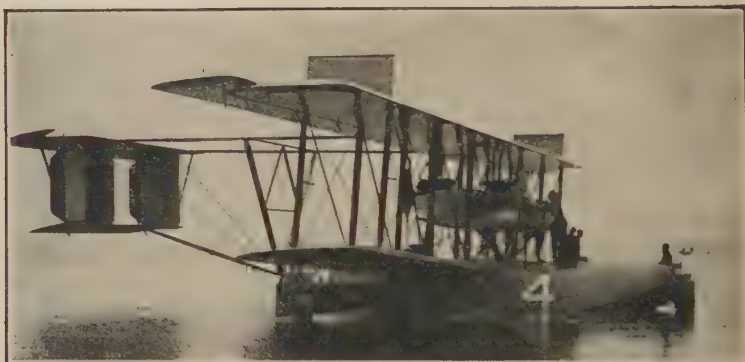
Facing the Future.—The World War marks the end of an epoch in our history. The frontier which has had a profound influence upon American life from its beginning is gone forever. The development of our vast natural resources has made our nation the richest in the world. We grow two-thirds of the world's supply of corn and cotton, and lead all other countries in the production of those essentials of modern industrial life: coal, petroleum, copper, and iron. For the present, at least, our country is the granary of the world. Men come to us from all lands when they desire to borrow money. We have

**Our new
position of
leadership**

advanced from our former isolation to a position of leadership in the world. We have a great part to play in world affairs, and if we play it worthily our future will be even more glorious than our past.

The tasks of
peace

With the close of the World War our country turned to the work of reconstruction. Our soldiers in Europe were brought home, the army was demobilized, and nearly four million men were returned to the walks of civil life. The coming of peace brought certain definite tasks. We must continue



© Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

The First Transatlantic Flier

The American Seaplane NC-4, commanded by Lt. Commander A. C. Read, which flew from America to England via the Azores and Portugal, reaching Portugal May 27, 1919.

to produce surplus food in vast quantities in order to help feed the starving millions of the Old World. The war also taught us the vital importance of taking prompt steps toward Americanizing the millions of foreigners who live among us.

The
development
of aviation

During the war the airplane was found to be invaluable in military operations. When peace came, aviators promptly turned their attention to making air craft useful in travel and transportation. In less than a year after the war, men had flown across the Atlantic three times. The honor of making the first transatlantic flight belongs to Lieutenant-Commander Albert C. Read of the United States Navy. In May, 1919, with a crew of four men, he flew in a sea plane, NC-4, from America to England by way of the Azores Islands and Portugal. A month later Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant Arthur

Whitten Brown of the British army made the first non-stop flight across the Atlantic from Newfoundland to Ireland in sixteen hours. The following month a British dirigible balloon carrying twenty-nine men made a round trip from the British Islands to America and return. These air flights across the Atlantic suggest wonderful possibilities in the use of airships in the near future.

It seems clear that in the years just ahead, our people must give serious attention to two important questions. The problem of social unrest growing out of the relations between capital and labor is ever becoming more threatening. Democracy must find a way to social and industrial justice. We must give every man in our country a square deal, for as Theodore Roosevelt once said, "Unless this country is made a good place for all of us to live in, it won't be a good place for any of us to live in."

Social and
industrial
justice

The development of the means of rapid travel, transportation, and communication, and the growth of commerce have drawn all the countries of the world closer together. The World War has taught us that war anywhere in the world seriously concerns all the nations of the world. We must find a way of establishing justice between nations by peaceful means, for unless the world becomes a place of peace for all nations we cannot be sure that it will long continue a place of peace for any nation.

World peace

The establishment of a square deal at home and the maintenance of peace with justice throughout the world are the tasks which challenge us as we face the future. These are not easy problems. Their solution will demand of us the high ideals, the devotion to duty, the self-reliant spirit, and the dauntless courage which enabled our ancestors to dare the perils of the sea and to endure the hardships of the wilderness that they might win the land and build this nation which they are handing on to us. May this story of their sacrifices and their achievements inspire us to be worthy of them.

The
challenge of
the future

REFERENCES.

Ogg, *National Progress*; Davis, *The Roots of the War*; Tappan, *The Little Book of the War*; McMaster, *The United States in the World War*; March, *History of the World War*; Beamish, *America's Part in the World War*.

TOPICAL READINGS.

1. Neutral Rights. Ogg, *National Progress*, 325-343.
2. The Approach of War. Ogg, *National Progress*, 384-399.
3. We Enter the War. McMaster, *The United States in the World War*, 351-365.
4. The President's Speech of April 2, 1917. March, *History of the World War*, 670-678.
5. The Call to the Colors. McMaster, *The United States in the World War*, 366-396.
6. America Transformed by War. March, *History of the World War*, 464-477.
7. How Food Won the War. March, *History of the World War*, 478-482.
8. Our Navy in the War. March, *History of the World War*, 483-497.
9. Ships and the Men Who Made Them. March, *History of the World War*, 520-528.
10. Château-Thierry, Field of Glory. March, *History of the World War*, 545-562.
11. The Argonne: America's Greatest Battle. Beamish, *America's Part in the World War*, 202-224.
12. General Pershing's Own Story. March, *History of the World War*, 701-719.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.

Poems: Lindsay, *Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight*; Seeger, *I Have a Rendezvous with Death*; Service, *Carry On*; Rhames, *of a Red Cross Man*; McCrae, *In Flanders Fields*; Begbie, *Verdun*; Brooke, *The Soldier*; Masters, *O Glorious France*.

War Time Experiences: Thompson and Bigwood, *Lest We Forget*; Tarbell, *The Rising of the Tide*; Gibbons, "And They Thought We Wouldn't Fight"; Rinehart, *Kings, Queens, and Pawns*; Hay, *The First Hundred Thousand*; All in It; Dawson, *Carry On*; *Out to Win*; *Living Bayonets*.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. Locate upon a map all the countries named in this chapter.
2. Ought our country to have entered the war against Germany sooner than it did? Give a reason for your opinion.
3. What lessons upon the subject of military preparedness can we learn from the World War? Ought our country to require compulsory military training of all its young men? Why?
4. What are the arguments in favor of a League of Nations? What can be said against it?
5. What is the value of studying history?

APPENDIX

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS JULY 4, 1776.

The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitles them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our loss: giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-Citizens taken captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus Marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

WE, THEREFORE, the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN GENERAL CONGRESS, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly PUBLISH and DECLARE, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT States;

that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, We mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

NAME.	Colony.	Occupation.	Born.	Birthplace.	Died.	Age
Adams, John	Mass.	Lawyer.	1735	Braintree, Mass.	1826	92
Adams, Samuel	Mass.	Merchant.	1722	Boston, Mass.	1803	81
Bartlett, Josiah	N. H.	Physician.	1729	Amesbury, Mass.	1795	67
Braxton, Carter	Va.	Planter.	1736	Newington, Va.	1797	62
Carroll, Charles	Md.	Lawyer.	1737	Annapolis, Md.	1832	96
Chase, Samuel	Md.	Lawyer.	1741	Somerset Co., Md.	1811	71
Clark, Abraham	N. J.	Lawyer.	1726	Elizabethtown, N. J.	1794	69
Clymer, George	Pa.	Merchant.	1739	Philadelphia, Pa.	1813	75
Ellery, William	R. I.	Lawyer.	1727	Newport, R. I.	1820	93
Floyd, William	N. Y.	Farmer.	1734	Setauket, N. Y.	1821	87
Franklin, Benjamin	Pa.	Printer.	1706	Boston, Mass.	1790	85
Gerry, Elbridge	Mass.	Merchant.	1744	Marblehead, Mass.	1814	71
Gwinnett, Button	Ga.	Merchant.	1732	England.	1777	45
Hancock, John	Mass.	Merchant.	1737	Braintree, Mass.	1793	57
Hall, Lyman	Ga.	Physician.	1731	Connecticut.	1784	53
Harrison, Benjamin	Va.	Farmer.	1740	Berkeley, Va.	1791	51
Hart, John	N. J.	Farmer.	1715	Hopewell, N. J.	1780	65
Hewes, Joseph	N. C.	Lawyer.	1730	Kingston, N. J.	1779	49
Heyward, Thomas, Jr.	S. C.	Lawyer.	1746	St. Luke's, S. C.	1809	63
Hooper, William	N. C.	Lawyer.	1742	Boston, Mass.	1790	49
Hopkins, Stephen	R. I.	Farmer.	1707	Scituate, Mass.	1785	79
Hopkinson, Francis	N. J.	Lawyer.	1737	Philadelphia, Pa.	1791	54
Huntington, Samuel	Conn.	Lawyer.	1732	Windham, Conn.	1796	64
Jefferson, Thomas	Va.	Lawyer.	1743	Shadwell, Va.	1826	83
Lee, Richard Henry	Va.	Soldier.	1732	Stratford, Va.	1794	63
Lee, Francis Lightfoot	Va.	Farmer.	1734	Stratford, Va.	1797	63
Lewis, Francis	N. Y.	Merchant.	1713	Llandaff, Wales	1803	91
Livingston, Philip	N. Y.	Merchant.	1716	Albany, N. Y.	1778	63
Lynch, Thomas, Jr.	S. C.	Lawyer.	1749	Prince George's Co., S. C.	1779	30
McKean, Thomas	Del.	Lawyer.	1734	New London, Pa.	1817	84
Middleton, Arthur	S. C.	Lawyer.	1743	Middleton Fl., S. C.	1788	44
Morris, Lewis	N. Y.	Farmer.	1726	Morrisania, N. Y.	1798	72
Morris, Robert	Pa.	Merchant.	1734	Lancashire, England	1806	73
Morton, John	Pa.	Surveyor.	1724	Ridley, Pa.	1777	53
Nelson, Thomas, Jr.	Va.	Statesman.	1738	York, Va.	1789	51
Paca, William	Md.	Lawyer.	1740	Wye Hall, Md.	1799	59
Paine, Robert Treat	Mass.	Lawyer.	1731	Boston, Mass.	1814	84
Penn, John	N. C.	Lawyer.	1741	Caroline Co., Va.	1788	48
Read, George	Del.	Lawyer.	1734	Cecil Co., Md.	1798	64
Rodney, Caesar	Del.	General.	1730	Dover, Del.	1783	53
Ross, George	Pa.	Lawyer.	1730	New Castle, Del.	1779	49
Rush, Benjamin	Pa.	Physician.	1745	Berberry, Pa.	1813	68
Rutledge, Edward	S. C.	Lawyer.	1749	Charleston, S. C.	1800	51
Sherman, Roger	Conn.	Shoemaker.	1721	Newton, Mass.	1793	73
Smith, James	Pa.	Lawyer.	1710	Ireland.	1806	96
Stockton, Richard	N. J.	Lawyer.	1730	Princeton, N. J.	1781	51
Stoe, Thomas	Md.	Lawyer.	1742	Pointon Manor, Md.	1787	45
Taylor, George	Pa.	Physician.	1716	Ireland.	1781	65
Thornton, Matthew	N. H.	Physician.	1714	Ireland.	1803	89
Walton, George	Ga.	Lawyer.	1740	Frederick Co., Va.	1804	64
Whipple, William	Conn.	Sailor.	1730	Kittery, Me.	1785	55
Williams, William	Conn.	Statesman.	1731	Lebanon, Conn.	1811	81
Wilson, James	Pa.	Lawyer.	1742	St. Andrews, Scotland	1798	56
Witherspoon, John	N. J.	Minister.	1722	Yester, Scotland	1794	73
Wolcott, Oliver	Conn.	Physician.	1726	Windsor, Conn.	1797	72
Wythe, George	Va.	Lawyer.	1726	Elizabeth Co., Va.	1806	80

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

Extracts from His Address Counselling the Maintenance of the Union.—Confinement of the General Government to its Constitutional Limitations, and Avoidance of Relations with Foreign Political Affairs.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ON HIS APPROACHING RETIREMENT FROM THE PRESIDENCY.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

Preservation of the Union.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence—the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness: that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of America, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of differences, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

Encroachments by the Government.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism.

A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern; some of them in our own country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change or usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit, which the use can, at any time yield.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of times and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

Entanglements with Foreign Powers.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Parting Counsels.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope that they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which hitherto has marked the destiny of

nations; but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit; some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism: this hope will be full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

United States, September 17, 1796.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG SPEECH

Address at the Dedication of Gettysburg Cemetery, November 19, 1863.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us: that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain: that the nation shall under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

"The Monroe doctrine" was enunciated in the following words in President Monroe's message to Congress, December 2, 1823:

"In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been deemed proper for asserting, as a principle in which rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Preamble.—We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Legislative Powers.—SECTION I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

House of Representatives.—SECTION II. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

Qualifications of Representatives.—2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Apportionment of Representatives.—3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 3; Massachusetts, 8; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1; Connecticut, 5; New York, 6; New Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 8; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 10; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 5, and Georgia, 3.*

Vacancies, How Filled.—4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Officers, How Appointed.—5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Senate.—SECTION III. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.†

Classification of Senators.—2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

Qualifications of Senators.—3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

President of the Senate.—4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States,

*See Article XIV, Amendments.

†See Article XVII, Amendments.

Senate a Court for Trial of Impeachments.—6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in Case of Conviction.—7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Elections of Senators and Representatives.—SECTION IV. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to places of choosing Senators.

Meeting of Congress.—2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Organization of Congress.—SECTION V. 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business: but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

Rule of Proceedings.—2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.

Journals of each House.—3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Adjournment of Congress.—4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Pay and Privileges of Members.—SECTION VI. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Other Offices Prohibited.—2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Revenue Bills.—SECTION VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

How Bills Become Laws.—2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within

ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

Approval and Veto Powers of the President.—3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Powers Vested in Congress.—SECTION VIII. 1. The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dry-docks, and other needful buildings.

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Immigrants, How Admitted.—SECTION IX. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Habeas Corpus.—2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

Attainder.—3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

Direct Taxes.—4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

Regulations Regarding Customs Duties.—5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

Moneys, How Drawn.—7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

Titles of Nobility Prohibited.—8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Powers of States Defined.—SECTION X. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State, shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Executive Power, in Whom Vested.—SECTION I. 1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Electors.—2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

Proceedings of Electors.—**Proceedings of the House of Representatives.**—3. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote. A quorum, for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or

more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.*

Time of Choosing Electors.—4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Qualifications of the President.—5. No person 'except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

Provision in Case of His Disability.—6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

Salary of the President.—7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath of the President.—8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.

Duties of the President.—SECTION II. 1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States except in cases of impeachment.

May Make Treaties, Appoint Ambassadors, Judges, etc.—2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herei otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

May Fill Vacancies.—3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

May Make Recommendations to and Convene Congress.—SECTION III. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

How Officers May Be Removed.—SECTION IV. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

* This clause is superseded by Article XII, Amendments.

ARTICLE III.

Judicial Power, How Vested.—SECTION I. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

To What Cases it Extends.—SECTION II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State, claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.—2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before-mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Rules Respecting Trials.—3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Treason Defined.—SECTION III. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

How Punished.—2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV.

Rights of States and Records.—SECTION I. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Privileges of Citizens.—SECTION II. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Executive Requisitions.—2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Laws Regulating Service or Labor.—3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

New States, How Formed and Admitted.—SECTION III. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union, but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

Power of Congress over Public Lands.—2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Republican Government Guaranteed.—SECTION IV. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

Constitution, How Amended.—The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

Validity of Debts Recognized.—1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

Supreme Law of the Land Defined.—2. This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Oath: of Whom Required and for What.—3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States, and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

Ratification of the Constitution.—The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

DONE in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names

Go: WASHINGTON,

Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

Articles in addition to, and Amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several states, pursuant to the Fifth Article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I.

Religion and Free Speech.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

Right to Bear Arms.—A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

Soldiers in Time of Peace.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

Right of Search.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

Capital Crimes and Arrest Therefor.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger: nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb: nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

Right to Speedy Trial.—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

Trial by Jury.—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive Bail.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

Enumeration of Rights.—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

Reserved Rights of States.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

Judicial Power.—The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

Electors in Presidential Elections.—The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct

lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

Slavery Prohibited.—1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

Protection for all Citizens.—1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Apportionment of Representatives.—2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being of twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Rebellion Against the United States.—3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

The Public Debt.—4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and

bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

ARTICLE XV.

Right of Suffrage.—1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI.

Income Taxes.—The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.

Election of Senators.—The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies, provided that the Legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Liquor Prohibition.—1. After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX.

Woman Suffrage.—1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of sex.

Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

RATIFICATION OF THE AMENDMENTS

Articles I to X were declared in force in 1791: Article XI in 1798; Article XII in 1804; Article XIII was proclaimed in December, 1865; Article XIV was proclaimed in July, 1868; Article XV was proclaimed in 1870; Article XVI and Article XVII were proclaimed in 1913; Article XVIII was proclaimed in January, 1919, and took effect in 1920; Article XIX was proclaimed in 1920.

PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

President.	State.	Term of Office.	Elected by	Vice-President.
George Washington.....	Virginia.....	1789-1797	Whole People....	John Adams
John Adams.....	Massachusetts...	1797-1801	Federalists.....	Thomas Jefferson
Thomas Jefferson.....	Virginia.....	1801-1809	Republicans ¹ ...	Aaron Burr
James Madison.....	Virginia.....	1809-1817	Republicans ¹ ...	George Clinton
James Monroe.....	Virginia.....	1817-1825	Republicans ¹ ...	George Clinton
John Quincy Adams.....	Massachusetts...	1825-1829	Republicans ¹ ...	Elbridge Gerry
Andrew Jackson.....	Tennessee.....	1829-1837	Democrats.....	Daniel D. Tompkins
Martin Van Buren.....	New York.....	1837-1841	Democrats.....	John C. Calhoun
William Henry Harrison ² .	Ohio.....	1841	Whigs.....	John C. Calhoun
John Tyler ³	Virginia.....	1841-1845	Whigs.....	Martin Van Buren
James K. Polk.....	Tennessee.....	1845-1849	Democrats.....	Richard M. Johnson
Zachary Taylor ²	Louisiana.....	1849-1850	Whigs.....	John Tyler
Millard Fillmore ³	New York.....	1850-1853	Whigs.....	George M. Dallas
Franklin Pierce.....	New Hampshire..	1853-1857	Democrats.....	Millard Fillmore
James Buchanan.....	Pennsylvania....	1857-1861	Democrats.....	William R. King
Abraham Lincoln ²	Illinois.....	1861-1865	Republicans.....	John C. Breckenridge
Andrew Johnson ³	Tennessee.....	1865-1869	Republicans.....	Hannibal Hamlin
Ulysses S. Grant.....	Illinois.....	1869-1877	Republicans.....	Andrew Johnson
Rutherford B. Hayes.....	Ohio.....	1877-1881	Republicans.....	Schuyler Colfax
James A. Garfield ²	Ohio.....	1881	Republicans.....	Henry Wilson
Chester A. Arthur ³	New York.....	1881-1885	Republicans.....	William A. Wheeler
Grover Cleveland.....	New York.....	1885-1889	Democrats.....	Chester A. Arthur
Benjamin Harrison.....	Indiana.....	1889-1893	Republicans.....	Thomas A. Hendricks
Grover Cleveland.....	New York.....	1893-1897	Democrats.....	Levi P. Morton
William McKinley ²	Ohio.....	1897-1901	Republicans.....	Adlai E. Stevenson
Theodore Roosevelt ³	New York.....	1901-1909	Republicans.....	Garrett A. Hobart
William H. Taft.....	Ohio.....	1909-1913	Republicans.....	Theodore Roosevelt
Woodrow Wilson.....	New Jersey.....	1913-1921	Democrats.....	Charles W. Fairbanks
Warren G. Harding.....	Ohio.....	1921-	Republicans.....	James S. Sherman
				Thomas R. Marshall
				Calvin Coolidge

¹ Not the present Republican Party.² Died in office.³ Vice-Presidents who succeeded to the Presidency.

APPENDIX

FACTS ABOUT THE STATES

Name.	Date of Admission into the Union.	Land Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1920 Census.
Original Thirteen States	Delaware.....	1787 1,965	223,003
	Pennsylvania.....	1787 44,832	8,720,017
	New Jersey.....	1787 7,514	3,158,900
	Georgia.....	1788 58,725	2,895,832
	Connecticut.....	1788 4,820	1,380,631
	Massachusetts.....	1788 8,039	3,852,356
	Maryland.....	1788 9,941	1,449,661
	South Carolina.....	1788 30,495	1,683,724
	New Hampshire.....	1788 9,031	443,083
	Virginia.....	1788 40,262	2,309,187
	New York.....	1788 47,654	10,384,829
	North Carolina.....	1789 48,740	2,559,123
	Rhode Island.....	1790 1,067	604,397
	Vermont.....	1791 9,124	352,428
	Kentucky.....	1792 40,181	2,416,630
	Tennessee.....	1796 41,687	2,337,883
	Ohio.....	1803 40,740	5,759,394
	Louisiana.....	1812 45,409	1,798,509
	Indiana.....	1816 36,045	2,930,390
	Mississippi.....	1817 46,362	1,790,618
	Illinois.....	1818 56,043	6,435,280
	Alabama.....	1819 51,279	2,348,174
	Maine.....	1820 29,895	768,014
	Missouri.....	1821 68,727	3,404,055
	Arkansas.....	1836 52,525	1,752,204
	Michigan.....	1837 57,480	3,668,412
	Florida.....	1845 54,861	968,470
	Texas.....	1845 262,398	4,963,228
	Iowa.....	1846 55,586	2,404,021
	Wisconsin.....	1848 55,256	2,632,067
	California.....	1850 155,652	3,426,861
	Minnesota.....	1858 80,858	2,337,125
	Oregon.....	1859 95,607	783,389
	Kansas.....	1861 81,774	1,769,257
	West Virginia.....	1863 24,022	1,463,701
	Nevada.....	1864 109,821	77,407
	Nebraska.....	1867 76,808	1,296,372
	Colorado.....	1876 103,658	937,629
	North Dakota.....	1889 70,183	645,680
	South Dakota.....	1889 76,868	636,547
	Montana.....	1889 146,201	548,889
	Washington.....	1889 66,836	1,356,621
	Idaho.....	1890 83,354	431,886
	Wyoming.....	1890 97,594	194,402
	Utah.....	1896 82,184	449,396
	Oklahoma.....	1907 69,414	2,028,283
	New Mexico.....	1912 122,503	360,350
	Arizona.....	1912 113,810	333,903

TERRITORIES, ETC.

Alaska.....	.....	590,884	54,899
District of Columbia.....	.....	70	437,571
Guam.....	.....	210	13,275
Hawaii.....	.....	6,449	255,912
Panama Canal Zone.....	.....	436	22,558
Philippine Islands.....	.....	114,400	10,350,640
Porto Rico.....	.....	3,435	1,299,809
Samoa.....	.....	77	8,056
Virgin Islands.....	.....	132	26,051
Total.....		3,689,923	117,857,509*

* Including 117,238 persons in military and naval service abroad.

POPULATION OF CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES HAVING MORE THAN 25,000 INHABITANTS

CITY.	POPULATION.		CITY.	POPULATION.	
	1920	1910		1920	1910
ALABAMA.					
Birmingham.....	178,270	132,685	Norwich town.....	29,685	28,219
Mobile.....	60,151	51,521	Stamford.....	40,057	28,836
Montgomery.....	43,464	38,136		35,086	25,138
ARIZONA.			Waterbury.....	91,410	73,141
Phoenix.....	29,053	11,134	DELAWARE.		
ARKANSAS.			Wilmington.....	110,168	87,411
Little Rock.....	64,997	45,941	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.		
Fort Smith.....	28,811	23,975	Washington.....	437,571	331,069
CALIFORNIA.			FLORIDA.		
Alameda.....	28,806	23,383	Jacksonville.....	91,558	57,699
Berkeley.....	55,886	40,434	Miami.....	29,549	5,471
Fresno.....	44,616	24,892	Pensacola.....	31,035	22,982
Long Beach.....	55,593	17,809	Tampa.....	51,252	37,782
Los Angeles.....	576,673	319,198	GEORGIA.		
Oakland.....	216,361	150,174	Atlanta.....	200,616	154,839
Pasadena.....	45,354	30,291	Augusta.....	52,548	41,010
Sacramento.....	65,857	44,696	Columbus.....	31,125	20,554
San Diego.....	74,683	39,578	Macon.....	52,995	40,665
San Francisco.....	508,410	416,912	Savannah.....	83,252	65,064
San Jose.....	39,604	28,946	ILLINOIS.		
Stockton.....	40,296	23,253	Aurora.....	35,397	29,807
COLORADO.			Bloomington.....	28,725	25,768
Colorado Springs.....	30,105	29,078	Chicago.....	2,701,705	2,185,283
Denver.....	256,369	213,381	Cicero town.....	44,995	14,557
Pueblo.....	42,908	44,395	Danville.....	33,750	27,871
CONNECTICUT.			Decatur.....	43,818	31,140
Bridgeport town*.....	143,538	102,054	East St. Louis.....	66,740	58,547
Hartford town*.....	138,036	98,915	Elgin.....	27,454	25,976
Meriden town, including			Evanston.....	37,215	24,978
Meriden city.....	34,739	32,066	Joliet.....	38,406	34,670
New Britain.....	59,316	43,916	Moline.....	30,709	24,199
New Haven town*.....	162,519	133,605	Oak Park village.....	39,830	19,444
New London town*.....	25,688	19,659	Peoria.....	76,121	66,650
Norwalk.....	27,700	24,211	Quincy.....	35,978	36,587
			Rock Island.....	35,177	24,335

* Coextensive at each of the two censuses with city of same name.

* Coextensive at each of the censuses with city of same name.

20 POPULATION OF CITIES OF MORE THAN 25,000

CITY.	POPULATION.		CITY.	POPULATION.	
	1920	1910		1920	1910
Rookford.....	65,651	45,401	MASSACHUSETTS.		
Springfield.....	59,183	51,678	Boston.....	748,060	670,585
INDIANA.			Brockton.....	66,138	56,878
Anderson.....	29,767	22,476	Brookline town.....	37,748	27,792
East Chicago.....	35,967	19,098	Cambridge.....	109,694	104,839
Evansville.....	85,264	69,647	Chelsea.....	43,184	32,452
Fort Wayne.....	86,549	63,933	Chicopee.....	36,214	25,401
Gary.....	55,378	16,802	Everett.....	40,120	33,484
Hammond.....	36,004	20,925	Fall River.....	120,485	119,295
Indianapolis.....	314,194	233,650	Fitchburg.....	41,013	37,826
Kokomo.....	30,067	17,010	Haverhill.....	53,884	44,115
Muncie.....	36,524	24,005	Holyoke.....	60,203	57,730
Richmond.....	26,765	22,324	Lawrence.....	94,270	85,892
South Bend.....	70,983	53,684	Lowell.....	112,759	106,294
Terre Haute.....	66,083	58,157	Lynn.....	99,148	89,336
IOWA.			Malden.....	49,103	44,404
Cedar Rapids.....	45,566	32,811	Medford.....	39,038	23,150
Council Bluffs.....	36,162	29,292	New Bedford.....	121,217	96,652
Davenport.....	56,727	43,028	Newton.....	46,054	39,806
Des Moines.....	126,468	86,368	Pittsfield.....	41,751	32,121
Dubuque.....	39,141	38,494	Quincy.....	47,876	32,642
Sioux City.....	71,227	47,828	Revere.....	28,823	18,219
Waterloo.....	36,230	26,693	Salem.....	42,529	43,697
KANSAS.			Somerville.....	93,091	77,236
Kansas City.....	101,177	82,331	Springfield.....	129,563	88,926
Topeka.....	50,022	43,684	Taunton.....	37,137	34,259
Wichita.....	72,128	52,450	Waltham.....	30,915	27,834
KENTUCKY.			Worcester.....	179,754	145,986
Covington.....	57,121	53,270	MICHIGAN.		
Lexington.....	41,534	35,099	Battle Creek.....	36,164	25,267
Louisville.....	234,891	223,928	Bay City.....	47,554	45,166
Newport.....	29,317	30,309	Detroit.....	993,739	465,766
LOUISIANA.			Flint.....	91,599	38,550
New Orleans.....	387,219	339,075	Grand Rapids.....	137,634	112,571
Shreveport.....	43,874	28,015	Hamtramck village.....	48,615	3,559
MAINE.			Highland Park.....	46,499	4,120
Bangor.....	25,978	24,803	Jackson.....	48,374	31,433
Lewiston.....	31,791	26,247	Kalamazoo.....	48,858	39,437
Portland.....	69,272	58,571	Lansing.....	57,327	31,229
MARYLAND.			Muskegon.....	36,570	24,062
Baltimore.....	733,826	558,485	Pontiac.....	34,273	14,532
Cumberland.....	29,837	21,839	Port Huron.....	25,944	18,893
Hagerstown.....	28,066	16,507	Saginaw.....	61,903	50,510
			MINNESOTA.		
			Duluth.....	98,917	78,466
			Minneapolis.....	380,582	301,408
			St. Paul.....	234,595	214,744

POPULATION OF CITIES OF MORE THAN 25,000 21

CITY.	POPULATION.		CITY.	POPULATION.	
	1920	1910		1920	1910
MISSOURI.					
Joplin.....	29,855	32,073	Kingston.....	26,688	25,908
Kansas City.....	324,410	248,381	Mount Vernon.....	42,726	30,919
St. Joseph.....	77,939	77,403	New Rochelle.....	36,213	28,867
St. Louis.....	772,897	687,029	New York City.....	5,621,151	4,766,883
Springfield.....	39,631	35,201	Manhattan Borough.....	2,284,103	2,331,542
MONTANA.			Bronx Borough.....	732,016	430,980
Butte.....	41,611	39,165	Brooklyn Borough.....	2,022,262	1,634,351
NEBRASKA.			Queens Borough.....	466,811	284,041
Lincoln.....	54,934	43,973	Richmond Borough.....	115,959	85,969
Omaha.....	191,601	124,096	Newburgh.....	30,366	27,805
NEW HAMPSHIRE.			Niagara Falls.....	50,760	30,445
Manchester.....	78,384	70,063	Poughkeepsie.....	35,000	27,936
Nashua.....	28,379	26,005	Rochester.....	295,750	218,149
NEW JERSEY.			Rome.....	26,341	20,497
Atlantic City.....	50,682	46,150	Schenectady.....	88,723	72,826
Bayonne.....	76,754	55,545	Syracuse.....	171,717	137,249
Camden.....	116,309	94,538	Troy.....	72,013	76,813
Clifton.....	26,470	11,869	Utica.....	94,156	74,419
East Orange.....	50,710	34,371	Watertown.....	31,285	26,730
Elizabeth.....	95,682	73,409	Yonkers.....	100,226	79,803
Hoboken.....	68,166	70,324	NORTH CAROLINA.		
Irvington town.....	25,480	11,877	Asheville.....	28,504	18,762
Jersey City.....	297,864	267,779	Charlotte.....	46,338	34,014
Kearny.....	26,724	18,659	Wilmington.....	33,372	25,748
Montclair.....	28,810	21,550	Winston-Salem.....	48,395	22,700
New Brunswick.....	32,779	23,388	OHIO.		
Newark.....	414,216	347,469	Akron.....	208,435	69,067
Orange.....	33,268	29,630	Canton.....	87,091	50,217
Passaic.....	63,824	54,773	Cincinnati.....	401,247	363,591
Paterson.....	135,866	125,600	Cleveland.....	796,836	560,663
Perth Amboy.....	41,707	32,121	Columbus.....	237,031	181,511
Plainfield.....	27,700	20,550	Dayton.....	152,559	116,577
Trenton.....	119,289	96,815	East Cleveland.....	27,292	9,179
West Hoboken town.....	40,068	35,403	Hamilton.....	39,675	35,279
West New York town.....	29,926	13,560	Lakewood.....	41,732	15,181
NEW YORK.			Lima.....	41,306	30,508
Albany.....	113,344	100,253	Lorain.....	37,295	28,883
Amsterdam.....	33,524	31,267	Mansfield.....	27,824	20,768
Auburn.....	36,192	34,668	Marion.....	27,891	18,232
Binghamton.....	66,800	48,443	Newark.....	26,718	25,404
Buffalo.....	506,775	423,715	Portsmouth.....	33,011	23,481
Elmira.....	45,305	37,176	Springfield.....	60,840	40,921
Jamestown.....	38,917	31,297	Steubenville.....	28,508	22,391
			Toledo.....	243,109	168,497
			Warren.....	27,050	11,081
			Youngstown.....	132,358	79,066
			Zanesville.....	29,569	28,026

22 POPULATION OF CITIES OF MORE THAN 25,000

CITY.	POPULATION.		CITY.	POPULATION.	
	1920	1910		1920	1910
OKLAHOMA.			TEXAS.		
Muskogee.....	30,277	25,278	Austin.....	34,876	29,860
Oklahoma City.....	91,258	64,205	Beaumont.....	40,422	20,640
Tulsa.....	72,075	18,182	Dallas.....	158,976	92,104
OREGON.			El Paso.....	77,543	39,279
Portland.....	258,288	207,214	Fort Worth.....	106,482	73,312
PENNSYLVANIA.			Galveston.....	44,255	36,981
Allentown.....	73,502	51,913	Houston.....	138,076	78,800
Altoona.....	60,331	52,127	San Antonio.....	161,379	96,614
Bethlehem.....	50,358	12,837	Waco.....	38,500	26,425
Chester.....	58,030	38,537	Wichita Falls.....	40,079	8,200
Easton.....	33,813	28,523	UTAH.		
Erie.....	93,372	66,525	Ogden.....	32,804	25,580
Harrisburg.....	75,917	64,186	Salt Lake City.....	118,110	92,777
Hazleton.....	32,277	25,452	VIRGINIA.		
Johnstown.....	67,327	55,482	Lynchburg.....	29,956	29,494
Lancaster.....	53,150	47,227	Newport News.....	35,596	20,205
McKeesport.....	45,975	42,694	Norfolk.....	115,777	67,452
New Castle.....	44,938	36,280	Petersburg.....	31,002	24,127
Norristown.....	32,319	27,875	Portsmouth.....	54,387	33,190
Philadelphia.....	1,823,158	1,549,008	Richmond.....	171,667	127,628
Pittsburgh.....	588,193	533,905	Roanoke.....	50,842	34,874
Reading.....	107,784	96,071	WASHINGTON.		
Seranton.....	137,783	129,867	Bellingham.....	25,570	24,298
Wilkes-Barre.....	73,833	67,105	Everett.....	27,644	24,814
Williamsport.....	36,198	31,860	Seattle.....	315,652	237,194
York.....	47,512	44,750	Spokane.....	104,437	104,402
RHODE ISLAND.			Tacoma.....	96,965	83,743
Cranston.....	29,407	21,107	WEST VIRGINIA.		
Newport.....	30,255	27,149	Charleston.....	39,608	22,996
Pawtucket.....	64,248	51,622	Clarksburg.....	27,869	9,201
Providence.....	237,595	224,326	Huntington.....	50,177	31,161
Woonsocket.....	43,496	38,125	Wheeling.....	54,322	41,641
SOUTH CAROLINA.			WISCONSIN.		
Charleston.....	67,957	58,833	Green Bay.....	31,017	25,236
Columbia.....	37,524	26,319	Kenosha.....	40,472	21,371
SOUTH DAKOTA.			La Crosse.....	30,363	30,417
Sioux Falls.....	25,176	14,094	Madison.....	38,378	25,531
TENNESSEE.			Milwaukee.....	457,147	373,857
Chattanooga.....	57,895	44,604	Oshkosh.....	33,162	33,062
Knoxville.....	77,818	36,346	Racine.....	58,593	38,002
Memphis.....	162,351	131,105	Sheboygan.....	30,955	26,398
Nashville.....	118,342	110,364	Superior.....	39,624	40,384

INDEX

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION

ăte, senăte, răre, căt, locăł, făr, âsk, părăde; scēne, ēvent, ēdge, novel, refēr; right, sĭn; cōld, ōbey, cōrd, stōp, cōmpare; ūnit, ūnite, būrn, cūt, focūs, menū; bōot, fōot; found; boil; function; chase; good; joy; then, thick; hw = wh as in when; zh = z as in azure; kh = ch as in loch.

A

Abbey (ăb'ŭ), Edwin A., 539
Acadia (ă-kă'dĭ-ă), 88, 99
Adams (ăd'ămz), John, 123, 130, 134, 135, 152, 166, 184, 196, 202, 217, 219, 221
administration of, 211-215
character of, 211
portrait of, 210
Adams, John Quincy (kwĭn'zĭ), 252, 316-318, 351, 359
portrait of, 317
Adams, Samuel, 114-116, 118, 120, 122, 123, 128, 130, 154, 166, 169
Africa (ăf'rĭ-kă), 52
Agriculture, in the colonies, 49-51
in the early republic, 255, 261-262
changes in, 289-291
rapid growth of, 386
in the New South, 460-462
use of machines in, 471-472, 482-485
on a large scale, 497-499
Aguinaldo (ă'gē-năł'dō), Emilio, 562
Alabama (ă'ă-bă'mă), 303, 304, 308, 309, 404, 488
Alabama, the, 412, 467
Alabama Claims, 468-469
Alamo (ă'lă-mō), the, 358
Alaska (ă-lăs'kă), 467, 521
Albany (ăl'bă-nŭ), 30, 286
Albany Plan of Union, 101, 159
Albemarle Sound (ăl'bē-mărl), 33
Alcock (ăl'kōk), Captain John, 595-598
Alexandria (ăl'ēg-zăn'drĭ-ă), 5
Algonquins (ăl-gōn'ki-ănz), 46, 88
Allen and Sedition Acts, 214, 217
Alleghany Mountains (ăl'ē-gă'nŭ), 45, 65, 93, 99, 108, 130, 176, 184, 188, 193, 221
Allegheny River, 100, 278
Allen (ăl'ēn), Ethan, 132
Alliance, French, 144, 146-147
Alsace-Lorraine (ăl-săs-lō-răn'), 593
Amendments to the Constitution, 168, 170, 173
twelfth, 217-218
thirteenth, 445-446
fourteenth, 454-455
fifteenth, 455
seventeenth, 528
eighteenth, 536
nineteenth, 528-9
America (ă-mēr'ĭ-kă), 2, 4, 18
discovery of, 7-9
new British policy in, 109-111
British troops in, 117-119
American Antislavery Society, 346-347

American Colonization Society, 346
American Federation of Labor, 511
Americanization, 542-553, 597
influences promoting, 551-553
American Party, 385, 394
Americans, 71
the making of, 542, 543
Amherst (ăm'ērst), Baron Jeffrey, General, 102, 103, 109
Amusements, colonial, 77
Anderson (ăn'dēr-sēn), Major Robert, 408
Andros (ăn'drōs), Sir Edmund, 56
Annapolis (ă-năp'ō-lĭs), Convention at, 164-165
Antietam (ăn-tē'tăm), battle of, 415
Anti-Federalists, 168
Antioch (ăn'tĭ-ōk), 5
Antislavery Movement, 346-352
Apaches (ă-pă'chăz), 501
Appalachian mountain system (ăp'ă-lăch'ĭ-ăn), 44, 69, 99, 221, 488
influence of, 44-45, 298-299
Appomattox Court House (ăp'ō-măt'ōks), surrender at, 432
Arabs (ăr'ăbz), 4
Arbitration, 468-469, 557, 595
Architecture, 540
Arizona (ăr-I-zō'nă), 368, 503
Arkansas (ăr'kăn-sō), 309, 408, 417
Arkansas River, 91, 227
Arkwright (ărkwĭt), Richard, 274
Armenians (ăr-mē'nĭ-ănz), 546
Armistead (ăr-mĭ'stēd), Gen. Lewis Ad-dison, 424
Arnold (ăr'nŭld), Gen. Benedict, 132, 133
treason of, 145
Arthur (ăr'thŭr), Chester A., 507
portrait of, 507
Asia (ă'shă), 4-5, 7, 8
Asia Minor (ă'shă mĭ'nēr), 5
Association, American, 123-124
Astor (ăs'tēr), John Jacob, 228
Astoria (ăs-tō'rĭ-ă), 228
Atlanta (ăt-lăn'tă), campaign against, 427
growth of, 463
Atlantic seaboard (ăt-lăn'tĭk), 45, 93, 99, 176
resources of, 69-70
Austerlitz (ous'tēr-lĭts), 234
Austin (ôs'tĭn), Moses, 357
Austin, Stephen F., 357
Austria (ôs'trĭ-ă), 223, 233-234, 251, 573
Austrians (ôs'trĭ-ănz), 205, 223, 575, 576, 588
Aviation (ă'vĭ-ă'shŭn), development of, 597-598

B

- Bacon (bā'kn), Nathaniel, 55-56
 Bacon's Rebellion, 55-56
 Bahamas (bā-hā'máz), 8
 Bainbridge (bān'brj), Commodore William, 245
 Baker (bā'kēr), Col. E. D., Representative from Illinois, 376
 Balboa (bāl-bō'á), 9
 Balfour (bāl'fōr), Arthur J., 580
 Baltic Sea (bōl'tik), 38
 Baltimore (bōl'ti-mör), 247, 257, 286
 Baltimore, Cecil Calvert, Lord, 23, 39
 Bank, first United States, 201, 249
 second United States, 249
 Jackson's attack upon, 326-327
 Banks (bā'ks), Nathaniel P., General, 413
 Baptists (bāp'tists), 83
 Barbary Pirates (bār'bā-rī), 244
 Barré (bā'rā), Isaac, 111
 Barton (bār'tun), Clara, 539
 Peauregard (bō'rē-gård), Gen. P. G. T., 412
 Beecher (bē'chēr), Henry Ward, 382
 Belgium (bēl'jī-ūm), 573, 574
 Bell (bēl), Alexander Graham, 475
 Bell, John, 402
 Belleau Wood (bēl-lō'), 586
 Bennington (bēn'ing-tūn), battle of, 143
 Berkeley (būr'kī), Sir William, Governor, 55-56
 opposes free schools, 80
 Berkeley, Lord John, 34
 Bill of Rights, 163
 Bird Woman, 227
 Birmingham (bīr'ming-ām), Alabama, 463
 Birney (būr'nī), James G., 347-348
 Bismarck (bīs'märk), North Dakota, 227
 Black Hawk War, 331
 Black Hills, 491
 Black Sea, 5
 Blaine (blān), James G., 506, 507, 555
 Bland-Allison Act (blānd-āl'lī-sūn), 518-519
 Bliss (blīs), General Tasker H., 592
 Blockade, the, 410, 428-429
 Blue Ridge Mountains, 44, 130
 Bolivar (bō-lē'vär), Simon, 251
Bonhomme Richard (bō-nōm rē'shär'), the, 148-149
 Boone (bōōn), Daniel, 177-179, 193, 296, 301, 488
 portrait of, 178
 Boonesborough (bōōns'būr-ō), 179, 181, 182
 Booth (bōōth), John Wilkes, 448
 Border Warfare, 95-98, 102
 "Bosses", party, 527-528
 Boston (bōs'tūn), 26, 43, 56, 73, 78, 124, 257
 siege of, 129, 132
 Boston Massacre, 118-119
 Boston Port Bill, 121
 Boston Tea Party, 120-121
 Boundaries, settlement of, 250-251
 Braddock (brād'ōk), Expedition of, 101-102
 Bragg (bräg), General Braxton, 420, 426
 Brandywine (brān'dī-wīn'), battle of, 142
 Brazil (brā-zil'), 10-11
 Breckenridge (brēk'in-rīj), John C., 402
 British Columbia (brīt'ish-kō-lūm'bī-d), 363
 Brooks (brōōks), Preston S., 393

- Brown (broun), Lieut. Arthur Whitten, 597-598
 Brown, Jacob, 242
 Brown, John, 393, 400-401
 Brown University, 52
 Bryan (brī'ān), William J., 519-520, 521, 524
 portrait of, 519
 Bryant (brī'ānt), William Cullen, 269, 332, 388
 Bryn Mawr (brīn mār), Pennsylvania, 65
 Buchanan (bū-kān'ān), James, 394-395, 396, 404
 portrait of, 395
 Buell (bū'ēl), General Don Carlos, 417-418, 419, 420
 Buffalo (büf'á-lō), New York, 312
 Buffalo, the, 493
 Bulgaria (bōōl-gā'rī-á), 573, 588
 Bull Run, first battle of, 412
 second battle of, 415
 Bunker Hill (būnk'ēr), battle of, 131-132
 Bureau of American Republics, 556
 Burgesses, House of, 23
 Burgoyne (būr-gōin'), General John, 141, 246
 his campaign in New York, 142-143
 Burke (būr'k), Edmund, 121
 Burns (būrnz), Anthony, 383
 Burnside (būr'n'sid), General Ambrose E., 415, 416
 Burr (būr), Aaron, 217
 plot of, 228-230
 Butler (būt'lēr), Senator Andrew P., 376
 Butte (büt), Montana, 491

C

- Cabinet, 196-198
 Cabot (kā'bōt), John, 15
 Calhoun (kāl-hōōn'), John C., 238, 249, 283, 284, 316, 317, 323-324, 350, 359, 378-379, 401
 picture of, 238
 Calicut (kāl't-kūt), 6
 California (kā'lī-fōr'nī-á), 15, 252, 363-365, 366, 367, 368, 374, 380, 384, 474, 489, 492, 498
 the rush to, 369-371
 Cambridge (kām'brj), Massachusetts (mās'á-chōō'sēts), 82
 Camden (kām'dēn), battle of, 151
 Canada (kān'á-dē), 91, 94, 98, 99, 108, 117, 118, 122, 152, 557
 invasion of, 1775, 132-133
 efforts to invade in War of 1812, 240-243
 Canals, 283-286
 Cantigny (kān'tē'nē), 586
 Cape Breton Island (brēt'ūn), 98
 Cape of Good Hope, 6, 9, 15
 Cape Nome (nōm), 491, 521
 Cape Verde Islands (vūrd), 10
 Capital, 293
 Caribbean Sea (kār'tī-bē'ān), 12
 Carlisle (kār-ll'), Pennsylvania (pēn'sil-vā'nī-d), Indian School at, 502
 Carolina (kā'rō-lī'ná), 33, 42, 44, 46, 49, 63, 65, 137, 150, 184
 Carpenter's Hall (kār'pēn-tērs), 123
 Carpetbaggers, 457-460
 evils of their rule, 457-459
 their downfall, 459-460

- Carranza (ká-rán'zá), Venustiano, 570.
571
- Carson (kár'sūn), Christopher, ("Kit"), 364
- Carteret (kár'tēr-ēt), Sir George, 34
- Cartier (kár'tyá), Jacques, 87
- Cartwright (kár't'rít), Edward, 274
- Cass (käs), Lewis, 375
- Cathay (ká-thā'), 5
- Catholics (káth'ō-líks), 14, 17, 24, 39, 65, 83, 85, 95, 334
- Cattle ranches, 493-495
- Cavaliers (káv'á-lērs'), 32, 39
- Cayugas (ká-yōō'gáz), 46
- Cedar Creek (sē'dēr), battle of, 431
- Central America, 8, 13
- Cervera (thēr-vā'rā), Admiral Pascual, 559
- Chambersburg (chām'bērz-bürg), 422
- Champlain (shām-plān'), Samuel de, 87-89
portrait of, 89
- Chancellorsville (chān'sēl-ēr-z-víl), battle of, 416
- Charles I (chārlz), 25-26, 32, 39, 107
- Charles II, 32, 34, 36, 42
- Charleston (chārlz'tūn), 33, 43, 120, 147, 149, 151, 153, 207, 257, 286-287
- Charter Oak (chār'tēr), 56
- Chase (chās), Salmon P., 378, 391, 394, 446, 457
- Château-Thierry (shā'tō'tyā'rē'), 586
- Chattanooga (chāt'á-nōō'gá), 417, 420, 425, 463
battle of, 426-427
- Cherokees (chēr'ē-kēz), 46, 180-181, 189
- Cherry Valley (chēr'í vāl'í), 181
- Chesapeake (chēs'á-pēk), 235-236, 240, 245
- Chesapeake Bay, 23, 141, 151, 247
- Chicago (shē-ká'gō), 2, 312, 495
- Chickamauga (chík-á-mō'gá), battle of, 426
- China (chí'ná), "open door" in, 563-565
Boxer uprising in, 564
- Chinese (chí-nēz'), Exclusion of, 549-550
- Chippewa (chíp'ē-wá), 242
- Choctaws (chōk'tōz), 332
- Chowan River (shōō'án), 33
- Christiana (Pa.) riot (krís-chān'á), 383
- Christian Commission, 437
- Churches, in the colonies, 83-85
on the frontier, 308
- Church of England (In'glānd), 24-25
- Cincinnati (sín-sín-á'tí), 311
- Cities, growth of, 292
in the West, 309-312
government of, 529
- Civil Rights Bill, 454, 456
- Civil Service Commission, 527
- Civil Service Reform, 527
- Civil War, 407-432
life during the, 435-440
finances of the, 440-443
home-coming of the soldiers, 451-452
- Clark (klärk), George Rogers, 182-184, 185, 188, 296
- Clark, William, 226
- Clay (klā), Henry, 238-239, 241, 249, 283, 316-318, 326, 327, 329, 361-362, 377-378
picture of, 238
- Clayton Anti-Trust Act (klā'tūn), 531
- Clemenceau (klām'mān'sō'), Georges, 593
- Clemens (klēm'ēnz), Samuel L., see Mark Twain.
- Clermont (klēr'mönt), 280
- Cleveland (klēv'lānd), Ohio (ō-hí'ō), 312
- Cleveland, Grover, 507-508, 513-514, 519, 527, 534, 556
portrait of, 513
- Climate, influence of, 71
- Clinton (klín'tūn), DeWitt, 284-285
- Clive (klív), Robert, 109
- Clothing, of the colonists, 73-74
- Coal, 279, 386
- Cody (kō'dí), William F., 492
- Coinage, history of, 517-520
- Cold Harbor (köld hār'bēr), battle of, 430
- Colleges, colonial, 82
- Colombia (kō-lōm'bí-á), 566
- Colonics, and the Mother Country, 57-59
rivers of, 70
mineral wealth of, 70
game, fur, and fish in, 70-71
French and English contrasted, 93-95
unrest in, 111-125
growth of Union in, 121-124
- Colonists, motives of, 37-40
hardships of, 42-43
relations with the Indians, 45-49
what they brought from Europe, 65-69
what they found in America, 69-71
homes of, 71-75
social life of, 75-78
schools of, 78-83
religious life of, 83-85
- Colorado (kōl-ō-rā'dō), 385, 491, 502, 528
- Columbia River (kō-lūm'bí-á), 227, 228
- Columbia University, 82
- Columbus (kō-lūm'būs), Christopher, 6-8, 45
- Comanches (kō-mān'chēs), 501
- Commerce, colonial, 57-59
under the Confederation, 163-164
rapid growth of, 263-264
regulation of, 530
- Commerce and Labor, Department of, 531
- Committees of Correspondence, 122-123
- "Common Sense", 133-134
- Commons, House of, 109, 110, 111, 113
- Compromise, in the Constitution, 166-167
- Compromise of 1850, 377-381
terms of, 380-381
- Concord (kōn'kōrd), fight at, 128-129
- Confederate States of America, 403-404, 408
finances of, 443
- Confederation. Articles of, 160-161, 173
nature of, 161
critical years under, 161-164
- Congregational Church, 83, 270
- Congress, Albany, 101, 122, 159
- Congress, Act, 112-113, 122, 159
First Continental, 123-124, 159
Second Continental, 130, 159-160
of the United States, 169-171, 196
- Congressional Caucus, 322
- Congressional reconstruction, 455
- Connecticut (kōn-nē't'í-kút), 28-29, 43, 48, 55, 56, 124, 129, 157, 184, 185
- Connecticut River, 28, 29, 31, 32, 44, 96
- Conservation, 532-534
- Conservatives, 529
- Constantinople (kōn'stān-tí-nō'pl), 5

- Constitution* 244, 245
 Constitution defined, 158
 Constitution of the United States, 164-173
 its formation, 164-167
 its ratification, 167-169
 its contents, 169-173
 sources of, 167
 objections to, 168
 amendments to, 168, 170, 173
 preamble of, 169
 the supreme law of the land, 173
 construction of, 203-204
 Constitutions of the States, 157-158
 Constitutional Union Party, 402-403
 Convention, the Constitutional, 164-167
 origin of, 164-165
 membership of, 165-166
 difficulties confronting, 166
 plans and compromises in the, 166-167
 Conventions, national, 322-323
 Cooke (kōōk), Jay and Co., 478
 Cooper (kōōp'ēr), James Fenimore, 269
 Copley (kōp'lī), John Singleton, 269
 Corinth (kōr'inth), Mississippi (mī's-sī-sip'pī), 417, 419
 Cornwallis (kōrn-wāl'īs) Lord Charles, General, 141, 151
 Coronado (kōr'ō-nā'dō), 11
 Cortés (kōr'tās'), Hernando, 10
 Cotton, 277
 Cotton gin, 275-276, 277-278, 292-293, 338
 Country, in the South, 53-54
 in the West, 307
 Courts, in the colonies, 56-57
 of the United States, 172, 198
 Cowboys, 494-495
 Cowpens (kou'pénz'), battle of, 151
 Crawford (krō'fērd), F. Marion, 539
 Crawford, William H., 316, 317
 Creeks (krēks), 46, 247, 332
 Crockett (krōk'ēt), David, 357, 358
 Crompton (krōmp'tūn), Samuel, 274
 Cromwell (krōm'wēl), Oliver, 32
 Crown Point (kroun point), 100, 103
 Crusades, 4-5
 Cuba (kū'bā), 8, 10, 391, 560
 revolutions in, 557-558
 fighting in, 559-560
 our relations with, 561
 Cumberland (kūm'bēr-lānd), 100
 Cumberland Gap, 178
 Cumberland River, 180
 "Cumberland Road", 284
 Cumberland Valley, 44
 Custer (kūs'tēr), General George A., 501
- D**
- Daboll's "Arithmetic", 267
 Dakota (dā-kō'tā), 2
 Dale (dāl), Governor Thomas, 21
 Danube (dān'ūb), 3
 Dark Age, 3-4
 Dartmouth College (dārt'mūth), 82
 Davis (dā'vis), Jefferson, 376, 378, 401, 404
 Davis, John, 16
 Debt, national, 198-201, 331
 Debts of the States, 200
 Decatur (dē-kā'tēr), Stephen, Com-mo-dore, 245
 Declaration of Independence, 133-136, 137
- Deerfield (dēr'fēld), attacked by Indians, 96-98
 Delaware (dēl'ā-wār), 63, 168, 185, 408
 Delaware, Thomas West, Lord, 21
 Delaware River, 31, 36, 42, 63, 66, 78, 140, 279
 Democracy, triumph of, 217-219
 leader of, 219-221
 principles of, 220
 growth of, 269-271
 rising tide of, 330-331
 Democratic-Republicans, 202-204
 Democrats, 318, 328-329, 361-362, 375, 381-382, 391, 394, 395, 402-403
 Denmark (dēn'mārk) 561
 Denver (dēn'vēr), 491, 492
 Desert, Great American, 489
 De Soto (dē sō'tō), 11
 Detroit (dē'troit'), 117, 163, 177, 182, 183, 241, 242, 312
 Dewey (dū'y), George, 558-559
 Diaz (dē-āz'), Porfirio, 569
 Dickinson (dīk'n-sūn), John, 112, 114, 116, 123, 130, 154, 160, 165
 portrait of, 153
 Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia (dīn-wīd'y), 100
 Direct primaries, 527, 528
 District of Columbia (kō-lūm'bi-ā), 200, 374, 381
 Dorchester Heights (dōr'chēs-tēr), 132
 Douglas (dūg'lās), Stephen A., 390-391, 396-399, 401, 402
 Dover (dō'vēr), 28
 Drafting, in the Civil War, 435-436
 in the World War, 582
 Draft riot, 436
 Drake (drāk), Francis, 15, 17
 Dred Scott Decision, 395-396
 Dunmore's War (dūn'mōr), 180.
 Dutch (dūch), 34, 42, 49, 63, 65-66, 79, 297, 542
 in America, 30-32
- E**
- Early (ēr'lē), General, 430, 431
 Edison (ēd'ī-sūn), Thomas A., 475.
 portrait of, 476
 Education, in the colonies, 78-83
 in the early republic, 266-268
 progress in, 332, 388
 in the New South, 463
 progress in, 536-537
 Edwards (ēd'wārdz), Jonathan, 83
 El Caney (ēl kā'nē), 560
 Elections, presidential, (1789) 196, (1796) 211, (1800) 214, 217, (1804) 217, (1820) 217, (1824) 317-318, (1828) 318, (1832) 327, (1836) 328-329, (1840) 329-330, (1844) 361-363, (1848) 375, (1852) 381-382, (1856) 394-395, (1860) 401-403, (1864) 446-447, (1868) 464-465, (1872) 465, (1876) 465-466, (1880) 506, (1884) 507, (1888) 508, (1892) 508, (1896) 525, (1900) 521, (1904) 525, (1908) 525, (1912) 525-526, (1916) 526
 Electoral Commission, 466
 Electricity, 475-476
 Elizabeth (ē-līz'ā-bēth), Queen, 15, 24, 25
 Elk River, 141
 Ellsworth (ēlz'wārth), Oliver, 165

Emancipation Proclamation, 444-445
 Embargo Act, 236, 275, 281
 Emerson (ém'ér-sún), Ralph Waldo, 129, 332-333, 382, 388, 401, 440, 539
 Emigrant Aid Society, 392
 Endicott (én'di-kót), John, 26
 Engineering, 540
 England (in'glánd), 4, 62, 87, 152, 163, 205, 206, 223, 224, 252, 466
 rivalry with Spain, 15-18
 rivalry with France, 87-105
 American attachment to, 108-109
 fails to keep settlers out of the West, 177
 trouble with, 208
 Jay Treaty with, 208
 tramples on our rights on the sea, 233-237
 Industrial Revolution in, 273-277
 Parliamentary reform in, 330
 attitude of during our Civil War, 410, 445
 in the World War, 573
 English (in'glish), 34, 57, 62-63, 65, 66, 193, 541, 580
 ideas of government and law, 68-69
 contrasted with French, 93-95
 Episcopalians, 83, 270
 Era of Good Feeling, 316-317
 Ericsson (ér'ik-sún), John, 411
 Erie (ér'ri), 242
 Erie Canal, 284-285, 288
 Essex (és'eks), 245
 Europeans (ü'rô-pē'ānz) who became Colonists, 62-65
 Evans (év'ānz), Oliver, 286
 Excise, 199

F

Factory system, 275
 influence of, 291-294
 Fairfield (fār'fēld), 147
 Falmouth (fāl'múth), 147
 Farming, see Agriculture
 Farm machinery, 290, 471-472
 Farragut (fār'd-güt), David G., 418-419, 427-428
 "Federal Reserve" banks, 532
 "Federalist", The, 168
 Federalists, 168, 202-204, 217, 218, 238, 316
 fall of, 213-215
 our debt to, 214-215
 Ferdinand (fúr'di-nánd) V, King of Spain, 7, 8
 Field (fēld), Cyrus W., 475
 Filipinos (fil'pē-nōz), 562-563
 Fillmore (fil'mór), Millard, 380, 395
 portrait of, 381
 Financial troubles under the Confederation, 161-163
 Fine Arts, 539
 Fiske (físk), John, 539
 portrait of, 538
 Fismes (fēm), 587
 Fitch (fich), John, 279-280
 Five Intolerable Acts, 121, 123
 Five Nations, The, 46
 Florida (flór'i-dá), 11, 104, 152, 230, 362, 403, 461, 465, 466
 acquired by United States, 250-251
 West, 229, 251

Foch (fósh), Ferdinand, Marshal, 585, 587, 588
 Food, of the colonists, 74
 Foote (fóót), Commodore, 417
 Forbes (fórbz), General, 102
 Forest reserves, 534
 Fort Donelson (dón'el-sún), 416-417
 Fort Duquesne (dóo-kán'), 100, 101, 102
 Fort Frontenac (frón'te-nák), 100, 102
 Fort Henry (hén'ri), 416-417
 Fort Lee (lē), 139
 Fort McHenry (mák'hén'ri), 247
 Fort Moultrie (móó'trí, móól'trí), 147
 Fort Nassau (nás'ó), 30
 Fort Necessity (nē-sés'i-tí), 101
 Fort Niagara (ni-ág'd-rá), 100, 102, 103, 117
 Fort Pitt (pít), 102, 117
 Fort Stanwix (stán'wíks), 143
 Fort Sumter (súm'tēr), 407-408
 Fort Washington (wósh'ing-tún), 139
 Fort William Henry, 102
 "Forty-Niners", the, 370-371
 Fox (fóks), Charles James, 121
 Fox River, 90
 France (fráns), 4, 62, 66, 87, 104, 161-162, 199, 206, 223, 224, 467, 563, 564, 592
 rivalry with England, 87-105
 helps America in the Revolution, 145-147
 revolution in, 204-205
 our trouble with, 211-213
 tramples upon our rights on the sea, 233-236
 in the World War, 574, 580
 Franklin (fránk'lín), Benjamin, 101, 108, 113, 122, 130, 135, 148, 159, 165, 184, 269
 in France, 146, 152, 154
 portrait of, 146
 Franklin, State of, 139
 Fredericksburg (fréd'ér-iks-búrg'), battle of, 416
 Freedmen, the, 454-455
 Freeport question, 398, 399
 Free-soil party, 375, 394
 Frémont (fré-mónt'), Gen. John C., 364, 366, 394, 413
 French (frénch), 34, 49, 63, 66, 193, 330, 580
 motives of, 89-90
 in the Mississippi Valley, 90-93, 176
 contrasted with English, 93-95
 sympathize with Americans, 145-146
 in Mexico, 466-467
 French and Indian War, 99-105, 108, 109, 117, 176, 223
 cause, 99
 geographic influences in, 99-100
 military events, 100-104
 results, 104-105
 French Revolution, 204-205, 249
 Friends, see Quakers.
 Frobisher (frób'ish-ér), Martin, 16, 17
 Frolic, 244
 Frontier, 188, 495
 life on the, 190-194, 304-308
 journey to the, 301-304
 the vanishing, 488-505
 Fugitive Slave Law, 381-383
 Fugitive slaves, 374-375
 Fulton (fóól'tún), Robert, 280
 Furniture, 73
 Fur trade, 90

G

Gadsden (gădz'dĕn), Christopher, 112-113
 Gadsden Purchase, 367
 Gage (gāj), General Thomas, 124, 128
 "Gag rule", 351
 Gallatin (găl'tĭn), Albert, 203, 220
 portrait of, 203
 Gallipoli (găl'hĕ'pŏ-lĕ), 576
 Gama (dă gä-mă), Vasco da, 6
 Garfield (găr'fĕld), James A., 506-507
 portrait of, 506
 Garrison (găr'ĭ-sŭn), William Lloyd, 346-348, 401
 portrait of, 348
 Gas engine, 475
 Gates (gäts), General Horatio, 143, 150-151, 153
 Genet (zhĕ-nĕ'), Edmond Charles, 207
 Geneva (jĕ-nĕ'vă), 595
 Geneva Award, 468
 Genius of Universal Emancipation, the, 346
 Genoa (jĕn'ŏ-ă), 5
 George III (jŏrj), 109-110, 111, 133, 152
 portrait of, 109
 George, David Lloyd (jŏrj, loid), 592
 Georgia (jŏr'jĭ-ă), 33-34, 42, 44, 63, 71, 83, 93, 123, 137, 149, 184, 188, 403, 462
 Germans, 34, 37, 63-64, 66, 79, 83, 193, 381, 542, 544, 547, 574, 575, 577, 578, 585, 588, 591-592
 Germantown (jŏr'măn-toun), battle of, 142
 Germany (jŏr'măn-ĭ), 556-557, 563, 573, 574, 576, 577, 578-579, 592, 593-594
 Gerry (gĕr'ĭ), Elbridge, 211-212
 Gettysburg (gĕt'tĭs-bŭrg), battle of, 421-425
 Ghent (gĕnt), treaty of, 248
 Gilbert (gil'bĕrt), Sir Humphrey, 16
 Gladstone (glăd'stŏn), William E., 167
 Goethals (gŏ'thălz), Colonel G. W., 567
 Gold, in California, 369-370
 in the Rocky Mountain region, 489-490
 Goodyear (gŏŏd'yĕr), Charles, 387
 Gorges and Mason (gŏr'jĕs, mă'sŭn), 28
 Government, of the colonies, 53
 town in New England, 53-54
 county in the South, 53-54
 mixed in middle colonies, 54
 beginnings of our, 157-173
 federal defined, 157
 from colonial to state, 157-158
 our first national, 158-160
 under the Articles of Confederation, 160-164
 need of a stronger, 164
 Governor, the colonial, 51-56, 108
 Grady (grăd'ĭ), Henry W., 463
 Grand Army of the Republic, 451
 Grand Canyon, 503
 Grant (grănt), U. S., 369, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 426, 427, 506
 and Lee, 430-432
 elected president, 464
 his administration, 464-465
 portrait of, 464
 Gray (gră), Captain Robert, 228
 Great Britain (brit'ăn), at war with
 American Colonies, 107-156
 our second war with, 233-249

dispute with Venezuela, 556
 in the Far East, 563-564
 in the World War, 577-578, 592
 Great Charter, Magna Charta, 107
 Great Lakes, 89, 90, 118, 184
 Great Salt Lake, 364
 Greece (grĕs), 574
 Greeks (grĕks), 2, 4, 330
 Greeley (grĕ'li), Horace, 401, 404, 464
 portrait of, 465
 "Greenbacks", 441-442
 Green Bay, 90, 91, 177
 Green (grĕn), John Richard, 110
 Greene (grĕn), General Nathanael, 129, 132, 151, 153
 Grenville (grĕn'vĭl), George, 110, 113
 Griffin (grĭf'in), 91
 Guam (gwăm), 560
 Guerrière (găr'ryăr'), 244
 Guilford Court House (gil'fĕrd), battle of, 151
 Gwynedd (gwĭn'ĕd), Pennsylvania, 65

H

Haiti (hă'tĭ), 8, 9, 10
 Hale (hăl), Nathan, 139
 Halifax (hăl't-făks), 99, 132, 241
 Halleck (hăl'ĕk), General, 419
 portrait of, 419
 Hamilton (hăm'ĭl-tŭn), Alexander, 164, 165, 168, 169, 196-197, 202, 203, 229
 financial policy of, 198-202
 portrait of, 169
 Hamilton, Henry, British governor, 183
 Hamlin (hăm'ĭn), Hannibal, 402
 Hampton (hămp'tŭn), Virginia (vĭr-jĭn'ĭ-ă), 463, 502
 Hancock (hăn'kŏk), General Winfield Scott, 423, 425, 506
 Hancock, John, 128
 Harding (hărd'ĭng), Warren G., 596
 Hargreaves (hăr'grĕvz), James, 273-274
 Harlem Heights (hăr'lĕm), 138
 Harpers Ferry (hăr'pĕrz), 400-401
 Harrisburg (hăr'ĭs-bŭrg), 422
 Harrison (hăr'ĭ-sŭn), Benjamin, 508, 534
 portrait of, 508
 Harrison, William Henry, 239, 242, 296, 329-330, 355
 Harrodsburg (hăr'ŏdz-bŭrg), 179, 182
 Harte (hărt), Bret, 539
 Hartford (hărt'fĕrd), 29
 Harvard (hăr'vărd), John, 82
 Havana (hă-văn'ă), 104
 Hawaii (hă-wĭ'ĭ), 563
 Hawkins (hŏ-kĭnz), John, 15, 17
 portrait of, 15
 Hawthorne (hŏ'thŏrn), Nathaniel, 332-333, 388, 539
 Hay (hă), John, 564, 565, 566
 Hayes (hăz), Rutherford B., 465-466, 506
 portrait of, 466
 Hayne (hăn), Robert Y., 324-325
 Health, 260-261
 protection of, 534-535
 Hebrews (hĕ'brŏŏz), 2
 Helena (hĕl'ĕ-nĕ), Montana (mŏn-tă'nd), 490
 Henry (hĕn'ri), Patrick, 111-112, 123, 124, 125, 130, 154, 166, 169, 182
 Herkimer (hŭr'kĭ-mĕr), General Nicholas, 143, 154

Hessians (hěsh'ānz), 133, 141
 Hobson (hōb'sn), Lieutenant, 559
 Hoe (hō), Richard M., 387
 Holland (hōl'ānd), 17, 62, 119, 149, 161-162, 199, 577
 Holmes (hōmz), Dr. Oliver Wendell, 332-333, 388, 440
 Holy Alliance, 251-252
 Homestead Act, 496
 Honolulu (hō'nō-lōō'lōō), 563
 Hood (hōōd), General John Bell, 427, 428
 Hooker (hōōk'ēr), General Joseph, 416, 422, 426
 Hooker, Thomas, 28-29, 63
 Hoover (hōōv'ēr), Herbert C., 581
 Hopkins (hōp'kinz), Captain Esek, 147
 Horn book, 81
Hornet, 244
 House (hous), Edward M., 592
 House of Representatives, 166, 169-170, 173
 Houses, in the colonies, 71-73
 Houston (hūs'tūn), General Sam, 357, 358
 Howe (hou), Elias, 386-387
 Howe, General William, 138, 141, 142
 Howe, Julia Ward, 436
 portrait of, 437
 Howells (hou'ēlz), William Dean, 539
 Hudson (hūd'sūn), Henry, 16, 30
 Hudson Bay, 46, 99
 Hudson River, 30, 31, 42, 44, 63, 66, 78, 79, 99, 118, 138, 140, 142, 149, 280
 Huerta (wēr'tā), Victoriano, 569-570
 Hughes (hūz), Charles E., 526
 Huguenots (hū'gē-nōts), 34, 63, 66, 193, 542
 Hull (hūl), Captain Isaac, 244, 245
 Hull, General William, 242
 Hutchinson (hūch'tn-sūn), Anne, 28
 Hutchinson, Governor Thomas, 122

I

Idaho (ī'dā-hō), 250, 363, 368, 502, 528
 Illinois (ī-lī-noī; -noiz), 184, 187, 299, 301, 309, 331, 384, 488
 Illinois River, 91
 Immigration, 293, 384-385
 later, 544-545
 restriction of, 549-551
 Impachment, 172-173
 of President Johnson, 457
 impressment of sailors, 208, 235, 237
 Independence Hall, 136, 165, 168
 Independent treasury system, 329
 India (īn'dī-ā), 8, 30, 109
 Indiana (īn-dī-ān'ā), 184, 187, 299, 308, 309, 488
 Indians, 8, 11, 45-49, 55, 65, 110, 331-332
 their treatment by the Spaniards, 13
 life of the, 45
 races and tribes of, 46
 nature of, 47
 and the white men, 47
 wars with the, 48-49, 190, 239, 247, 332, 501
 relations with French and English, 94
 in the Revolution, 180-182
 later treatment of, 502
 Indian Territory, 331-332
 Industrial Revolution, 273-294, 471
 meaning of, 291-294
 effects of, 483-485

Industries, in the colonies, 49-53
 changes in, 273-294
 during the Civil War, 438-439
 growth of, 479-482
 effect of changes in upon life, 482-485
 Initiative, the, 528
 Intercolonial Wars, 95-105
 Internal Improvements, 284-286
 Inter-State Commerce Act, 516, 530
 Inter-State Commerce Commission, 516, 530
 Inventions, 261-262, 273-281, 286-291, 386-387
 Iowa (īō-wā), 331, 362
 Ireland (īr'lānd), 17, 62, 64
 Irish (ī'rish), 65, 384, 542, 544, 547
 Iron, 278-279, 386, 473-474
 Iroquois (īr'ō-kwoi'), 46, 49, 88-89, 100, 145, 181, 185
 Irrigation, 499-500
 Irving (īr'vīng), Washington, 259, 269, 332-333
 Isabella (īz'ā-bēl'ā) I, Queen of Spain, 7, 8
 Island No. 10, 417
 Italians, 544, 576
 Italy (īt'ā-lī), 223, 573, 580, 592

J

Jackson (jāk'sūn), Andrew, 247-248, 251, 296, 308, 316, 317, 318-321, 322, 324, 326-327, 328, 350, 359
 portrait of, 319
 Jackson, Michigan, 394
 Jackson, Mississippi, 420
 Jackson, General "Stonewall", 369, 413-414, 415, 416
 portrait of, 413
 Jamaica (jā-mā'kā), 10
 James I (jāmz), 20, 25
 James II, 34, 56, 107
 James River, 20, 78
 Jamestown (jāmz'toun), 20, 43, 69
 sufferings of the settlers, 21
 burned, 56
 Japan (jā-pān'), 8, 549, 564, 565, 573, 592
 Japanese (jāp'ā-nēz), 550
 Java (jā'vā), 245
 Jay (iā), John, 123, 152, 154, 168, 184, 198, 202, 208
 portrait of, 202
 Jefferson (jēf'ēr-sūn), Thomas, 123, 154, 166, 196-197, 203, 204, 206, 211, 214, 234, 235-236, 249, 253, 270, 316, 357
 writes Declaration of Independence, 134-136
 the leader of democracy, 217-221
 inauguration of, 219-220
 character and career, 220-221
 on the Missouri Compromise, 340
 Jesuits (jēz'ū-īts), 90
 Jewish Welfare Board, 592
 Jews, 544
 Joffre (zhō'fr), Marshal J. J. C., 575, 580
 Johnston (jōn'sūn), Andrew, 447, 454, 463
 reconstruction plan of, 452-453
 quarrels with Congress, 455-456
 impeached, 457
 portrait of, 452
 Johnston (jōnz'stūn), General Albert Sidney, 418, 419
 Johnston, General Joseph E., 413, 427
 Joliet (jō'lī-ēt), 90, 91
 Jones (jōnz), John Paul, 147-149, 154, 244

K

- Kalb, De (käl'b' dē), 145-146'
 Kansas (kän'zás), 2, 11, 227, 384, 474, 496, 502
 the struggle for, 391-393
 Kansas City, 495
 Kansas-Nebraska (kän'zás nē-bräs'ká) Act, 390-391, 394
 Kaskaskia (käs-käs'kí-á), 182, 183
 Kearny (kär'ní), General Philip, 366
 Kearsarge (kēr'särj), the, 412
 Kennebec (kēn'ē-bék), 28, 44
 Kentucky (kēn-tūk'tí), 130, 177, 178-179, 180, 181, 185, 188-189, 190, 224, 296, 299, 308, 408-409, 488
 resolutions of, 214
 Key (kē), Francis Scott, 247
 King George's War, 95, 98
 King John, 107
 King's College, 82
 Kings Mountain, battle of, 151
 King William's War, 95, 98
 Klondike (klōn'dík), 491, 521
 Knights of Columbus, 591
 Knights of Labor, 511
 "Know Nothing" Party, see American Party
 Knox (nōks), General Henry, 153, 196-197
 Knoxville (nōks'vīl), Tennessee (tēn'nēs-sē'), 427
 Ku-Klux Klan (kū'klüks'), 459-460

L

- Labor, in the colonies, 51
 and capital, 293
 the organization of, 510-512
 laws protecting, 532
 Department of, 532
 Lafayette (lä'fä-yēt'), Gilbert Motier de, 142, 145, 151, 154
 Lake Champlain (shäm-plän'), 89, 99, 100, 118, 142, 241, 242, 246
 Lake Erie (ē'rí), battle of, 242
 Lake George (jōrj), 99, 102
 Lake Huron (hūrōn), 89
 Lake Michigan (mish't-gán), 91
 Lake Ontario (ōn-tär'ri-ō), 100, 102
 Lanier (lä'nēr'), Sidney, 539
 La Salle (lä'säl'), Robert Caveller, Sieur de, 93-92, 176
 Land claims of the states, 160
 Lansing (län'sing), Robert, 592
 Latin America, 12-14, 251, 252
 races of, 13
 life of the people in, 13
 government in, 13-14
 missions in, 14
 Lawrence (lō'rēns), 242
 Lawrence, Captain James, 244, 245
 Lawrence, Kansas, 393
 Laws, how made, 170-171
 League of Nations, 594-596
 Leclerc (lē klär'), General Victor Emmanuel, 223
 Lee (lē), Richard Henry, 134
 Lee, Robert E., 369, 413, 414, 415, 416, 421, 422, 423, 424
 and Grant, 430-432
 Legislature, the colonial, 54-55
 Lenni Lenape (lén'l lēn'a-pē), 46
 Leopard, 235
 Lesseps (lä'sēps'), Ferdinand de, 565

- "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer", 116
 Lewis and Clark (lōō'is; klärk), 226-228, 250, 360
 Lewis, Meriwether, 226
 Lexington (lěks'ing-tūn), fight at, 128
 Kentucky, 130
 "Liberal Republicans", 464
 Liberator, The, 346, 348
 Liberia (lí-bē'rí-á), 346
 Liberty Bell, 136
 Liberty Bonds, 590
 Liberty party, 347-348
 Lima (lē'mā), 14
 Lincoln (līng'kūn), Abraham, 305, 394, 405, 410, 424, 443, 445
 debates with Douglas, 396-399
 elected president, 402-403
 first inaugural, 407
 calls for troops, 408
 issues Emancipation Proclamation, 444-445
 re-election of, 446-447
 second inaugural, 447
 death of, 447-448
 estimate of, 446-448
 statue of, 444
 views on reconstruction, 452
 Lincoln-Douglas Debate, 396-399
 Lincoln, General Benjamin, 149
 Literature, American, 332-333, 539
 Little Big Horn, battle of, 501
 Livingston (lív'ing-stūn), Robert R., 225
 Lloyd George (lōid jōrj), 593
 Locomotives, 286-288
 Lodge (lōj), Henry Cabot, 210
 London (lūn'dūn), 40
 London Company, 20, 22-23
 Longfellow (lōng'fēl-dō), Henry Wadsworth, 128, 332-333, 388, 440
 Long Island, 32, 44
 battle of, 138
 Longstreet (lōng'strēt), General James, 423
 Lords, House of, 109
 Louis XVI of France (lōō'is), 204, 205
 portrait of, 204
 Louisburg (lōō'is-būrg), 98, 99, 102
 Louisiana (lōō'ē-zē-á-ná), 93, 152, 222, 223, 229, 251, 403, 416, 461, 462, 466
 purchase of, 224-225, 250, 356-357
 occupation and exploration of, 225-228
 admitted to the Union, 226, 301, 308
 meaning of purchase of, 230
 Louisville (lōō'vīl), 182, 311
 L'Ouverture (lōō'vēr'tūr), Toussaint (tōō'sān'), 223-224
 Lovejoy (lūv'jōl), Elijah P., 349
 Lowell (lō'el), Francis C., 275
 Lowell, James Russell, 332-333, 348, 365, 383, 388, 440, 539
 Loyalists, in the Revolution, 136-137
 Lundy (lūn'dí), Benjamin, 346
 Lundy's Lane (lūn'díz lān), 242
 Lusitania (lū'sí-tā'ní-á), 578
 Lutherans (lōō'thēr-ānz), 83
 Lyon (lí'ūn), Mary, 332

M

- McClellan (má-klēl'ān), General George B., 408, 412, 416
 campaign on the Peninsula, 413-414
 in the Antietam Campaign, 415
 candidate for president, 447

- McCormick (má-kôr'mík), Cyrus H., 290
 MacDonald (mák-dôn'ô), Thomas, 246-247
 McDowell (mak-dou'êl), General Irvin, 412, 413, 414, 416
 McHenry (mák-hên'rî), Jerry, 383
 McKinley (má-kîn'lî), William, 514, 520, 521, 522, 524, 534, 558
 portrait of, 521
 McMaster (mák-más'tér), John Bach, 539
 Macedonian (mäs'ê-dô'nî-ân), 244
 Machinery, labor-saving, 386-387
 age of, 471-474
 effects of, 482-485
 "Machines", political, 527-528
 Mackinac (mák'f-nô), 90, 91
 Madero (mâ-dâ'rô), Francesco, 569
 Madison (mäd'tî-sûn), James, 164, 165, 166, 168, 203, 214, 218, 236, 237, 239, 249, 284, 316
 Magellan (mák-jêl'lân), Ferdinand, 9
 Magellan, Strait of, 15
 Magna Charta, Great Charter, 107
 Maine (män), 44, 71, 309, 339
 Maine, the, 558
 Mandan Indians (män'dân), 227
 Manhattan Island (män-hât'tân), 30
 Manila (mä-nî'lâ), 104, 553, 562
 battle of, 559
 Mann (män), Horace, 332, 376
 portrait of, 377
 Manufactures, in the colonies, 51-52
 restricted, 58
 in the early republic, 262-263
 rapid growth of, 386
 in the New South, 462-463
 development of, 472
 Marconi (mär-kô'nî), William, 476
 Marco Polo (mär'kô pô'lô), 5
 Marietta (mä'rî-ê'tâ), Ohio, 189
 Marion (mär'rî-ûn), General Francis, 149-150, 154
 Markham (märk'âm), Edwin, 446
 Mark Twain (märk twân), 539
 portrait of, 538
 Marne (märn), first battle of, 575
 second battle of, 587
 Marquette (mär'kêt'), Jacques, 90-91, 176
 Marshall (mär'shâl), John, 211-212, 219
 Maryland (mêr'f-lând), 23-24, 42, 52, 55, 63, 65, 83, 100, 164, 185, 408, 445
 Mary, wife of William IV, 56
 Mason (mä'sôn), 410
 Massachusetts (mäs'ê-chô'sêts), 26-28, 43, 48, 53, 56, 82, 85, 112, 184, 185, 309
 education in, 78-79
 punished by Parliament, 121
 committees of correspondence in, 122
 minute men in, 124-125
 ratifies the Constitution, 169
 Massachusetts Bay Company, 26
 Massasoit (mäs'ê-soit'), 48
 Maximilian (mák'sî-mî'yân), 467
 Meade (mêd), General George G., 422, 423, 424
 portrait of, 422
 Mediterranean Sea (mêd'f-têr-râ-nê-ân), 2
 Memphis (mêm'fis), 417, 419
 Merrimac (mêr'mâk), 28, 44
 Merrimac, the, 410-411
 in the Spanish War, 559
 Methodism, 83
 Meuse-Argonne (mûz-är'gôn'), campaign 588
 Mexican War, 363-369
 Mexico (mêks'î-kô), 10, 11, 12, 13, 228, 229, 251
 conquered by Spain, 10
 invaded by U. S., 366-367
 treaty of peace with, 367
 French in, 466-467
 our relations with, 569-571
 Mexico, City of, 10, 14, 366-367
 Mexico, Gulf of, 12, 92, 93
 Michigan (mîsh'î-gân), 184, 187, 242, 301, 309
 Miles (mîlz), General Nelson A., 560
 Milwaukee (mîl-wô'kê), 312
 Mining, 386
 growth of, in the West, 489-492
 Minnesota (mîn'nê-sô'tâ), 227, 384
 Mint established, 201
 Mississippi (mîs'sîp'pî), 304, 308, 309, 403, 458, 463, 488
 Mississippi River, 11, 46, 91, 93, 176, 184, 222, 226, 227, 230, 279, 281, 299, 416-421
 Mississippi Valley, 45, 65, 69, 104, 193, 230, 283, 291, 296, 310
 French in, 90-93
 Missouri (mîz-zô'fî), 226, 301, 308-309, 339-340, 409, 445, 488
 Missouri Compromise, 338-340, 374, 390, 396
 Missouri River, 91, 93, 226-227, 301
 Mobile (mô'bêl), 311, 427-428
 Modocs (mô'döks), 501
 Mohammedans (mô-hâm'êd-ânz), 4
 Mohawk River (mô'hôk), 44, 100
 Mohawk Valley, 63, 99-100, 118, 142, 301
 Mohawks, 46
 Money, in the colonies, 52-53
 during and after the Revolution, 162-163
 history of, 516-520
 Monitor, fights the Merrimac, 411
 Monmouth (môn'mûth), battle of, 145
 Monongahela River (mô-nôn'gâ-hê'lâ), 100, 182, 278
 Monroe Doctrine (mûn ro'), 251-253, 467, 556-557, 596
 Monroe, James, 203, 211, 218, 225, 252, 284, 316
 Montana (môn-tâ'nâ), 501
 Montcalm (môn'kâm'), L. J. St. V., Marquis de, 102, 103
 Montenegro (môn'tâ-nâ'grô), 573
 Montgomery (mônt-gûm'êr-î), Alabama (âl'ê-bâ'mâ), 403, 408
 Montgomery, Richard, 132-133
 Montreal (môn'trê-ôl'), 87, 93, 104, 132, 241
 Moore's Creek (môô'krz), fight at, 137
 Morgan (môr'gân), General Daniel, 151, 154
 Mormons, 334, 500, 502-503
 Morris (môr'îs), Gouverneur, 167
 Morris, Robert 154, 162, 165
 Morristown (môr'îs-toun), 141
 Morse (môrs), Samuel F. B., 289, 475
 Morse's "Geography", 267
 Mount Holyoke (hôi'yôk), 332
 Mount Vernon (vûr'nûn), 153, 164, 196, 208

Muskogean (mŭsk-hŏ'gĕ-ānz), 46
 Muskingum River (mŭs-kŭn'gŭm), 189

N

Napoleon (nā-pŏ'lĕ-ŭn) Bonaparte (bŏ'nā-pärt), 213, 230, 240, 246, 251
 colonial scheme of, 223-224
 attacks American rights on the sea, 223-237
 portrait of, 213
 Napoleon III, 467
 Narragansetts (nār'ā-gān'sĕts), 46
 Nashville (nāsh'vīl), 180, 463
 battle of, 428
 Natchez (nāch'ĕz), 230
 National banks, 442-443
 "National Pike", 253-284
 Nauvoo (nā'vŏŏ), 334
 Navigation Acts, 57-59, 108
 efforts to enforce, 110-111, 118
 Navy, beginnings of, 147-149
 in the War of 1812, 243-246
 in the Civil War, 410-412
 Nebraska (nĕ-brās'kă), 496, 502
 Negroes, disfranchised, 463
 in our midst, 547-549
 Nelson (nĕl'sŭn), Lord Horatio, 233
 portrait of, 233
 Neutrality, in 1793, 206
 Nevada (nĕ-vă'dă), 368, 490, 502
 New Amsterdam (ām'stĕr-dām), 31, 32
 New England (ŭn'glānd), 35, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44, 48, 49, 52, 53, 56, 62, 64, 76, 83, 110, 138, 188
 beginnings of, 24-30
 life in, 29-30, 257-258
 education in, 78-79, 267
 church services in, 83-84
 border warfare in, 96-98
 Confederation, 122
 revolutionary rising in, 129
 New England Primer, 81
 Newfoundland (nŭ'fŭnd-lānd), 99, 153
 New France (frāns), beginnings of, 87-90
 life in, 93-95
 New Hampshire (hāmp'shĭr), 28, 44, 93, 129, 185
 New Haven (hă'vn), 29, 32
 New Jersey (jĕr'sī), 34-35, 42, 44, 56, 62, 63, 137, 140, 166, 168, 185
 New Mexico (mĕks'ī-kŏ), 367, 368, 380, 502
 New Netherland (nĕth'ĕr-lānd), 30-32, 34
 New Orleans (ŏr'lĕ-ānz), 93, 104, 199, 222, 224, 225, 230, 209-301, 311
 battle of, 247-248
 captured by Farragut, 418-419
 Newport (nŭ'pŏrt), 28, 149
 Newspapers, 268-269
 New Sweden (swĕ'dĕn), 31
 New York (nŭ-yŏrk'), 34, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 56, 57, 63, 75, 96, 98, 112, 120, 129, 137, 138, 145, 181, 185, 188, 299, 301
 schools in, 80
 British troops in, 117-118
 Revolutionary War in, 138-140
 selfish policy of, 163
 ratifies the Constitution, 169
 life in, 258-259
 New York City, 30, 149, 153, 196, 257, 258, 285
 Niagara (nĭ-āg'ā-ră), 242

Niagara frontier, 241-242
 Niagara River, 91, 100, 241, 242
 Nicaragua (nĭ-kă-ră'gwă), 557, 566
 Nicolls (nĭk'ŭlz), Colonel Sir Richard, 32
 Non-Intercourse Act, 237, 275, 281
 North America (ā-mĕr'ī-kă), 16, 38, 87
 North Carolina (kă'rŏ-lĭ'nă), 33, 52, 63, 65, 169, 177, 189
 Tories in, 137
 campaign in, 151
 secession of, 408
 North Dakota (dă-kŏ'tă), 496, 502
 North, Lord, 121, 152
 Northwest Territory, won by George Rogers Clark, 182-184
 claimed by Virginia, 185
 organized in 1787, 187-188
 life in, 190-194
 growth of, 308
 Norwalk (nŏr-wŏlk), 147
 Nova Scotia (nŏ'vă skŏ'shĭ-ă), 88, 99
 Nueces River (nŭ-ă'săs), 365
 Nullification, 324-326

O

Oberlin College (ŏ'bĕr-lĭn), 332
 Oglethorpe (ŏ'gl-thŏrp), James, 33, 39, 62
 Ohio (ŏ-hĭ'ŏ), 184, 187, 189-190, 296, 297, 301, 308, 488
 Ohio Company, 189
 Ohio River, 91, 93, 100, 182, 184, 185, 189, 199, 222, 279, 280, 281, 298-299
 Oklahoma (ŏk'lă-hŏ'mă), 2, 462, 474, 497, 503
 Omaha (ŏ'mă-hŏ), 495
 Oneidas (ŏ-nĭ'dăz), 46
 Onondagas (ŏn'ŏn-dŏ'găz), 46
 Ordinance of 1787, 187-188, 260, 296, 374
 Oregon (ŏr'ĕ-gŏn), 250, 363, 368, 374, 384, 489, 498
 Oregon Country, 250, 360-361, 362-363
 Oregon, the, 565
 Oriskany (ŏ-rĭs'kă-nĭ), battle of, 143
 Orlando (ŏr-lăn'dŏ), Premier, 593
 Oswego (ŏs-wŏ'gŏ), 102, 142
 Otis (ŏ'tĭs), James, 112
 Ottawa River (ŏt'ă-wă), 89

P

Pacific Ocean (pă-sĭf'ĭk), 1, 9, 15, 16, 38, 226, 227
 Pago Pago (pă'gŏ pă'gŏ), 563
 Paine (pān), Thomas, 133-134
 Pakenham (păk'ĕn-ām), General Sir Edward Michael, 245
 Panama (păn-ă-mă'), 9, 546
 Panama Canal, 83, 565-568
 Pan-American movement, 545-552
 Panic, of 1837, 327-330
 of 1873, 478
 Paris (pă'ris), Treaty of, 1763, 104, 105
 Treaty of, 1783, 152-153
 Parker (păr'kĕr), Alton B., 525
 Parker, Captain John, 128
 Parkman (părk'măn), Francis, 47, 90, 177
 Parks, National, 503
 Parliament, 107, 109, 113, 119
 representation in, 110-111
 taxes America, 111-117
 repeals duties except tea tax, 117
 punishes Boston and Massachusetts, 121
 passes repressive measures, 124

Parties, political, beginning of, 201-204
 Federalists, 202-204
 Republican or Democratic-Republican, 202-204
 Paterson (păt'ēr-sūn), William, 165
 Pawtucket (pō-tūk'ēt), Rhode Island, 275
 Peace Conference, of 1919, 593-594
 Peacock (pē'kōk'), the, 244
 Peale (pēl), Charles Willson, 269
 Pea Ridge, battle of, 416
 Pemberton (pēm'bēr-tūn), General John C., 421
 Peninsula campaign, 413-414
 Penn (pēn), Admiral Sir William, 36
 Penn, William, 35-37, 39, 49, 63
 portrait of, 36
 Pennsylvania (pēn'sū-vā'nī-ā), 35-37, 42, 44, 49, 54, 55, 62, 63, 64-65, 79, 83, 85, 100, 129, 137, 145, 158, 168, 181, 185, 188, 190, 199, 299
 schools in, 80
 life in, 258-259
 coal in, 279
 internal improvements in, 285-286
 Pennsylvania, University of, 82
 Pensacola (pēn'sā-kō'lā), 251
 Pequots (pē'kwōts), 46, 48
 Percy (pēr'sī), Lord, 129
 Perdido River (pēr-dē'dō), 251
 Perry (pēr't), Oliver Hazzard, 242, 245
 Perryville (pēr'vīl), battle of, 420
 Pershing (pēr'shīng), General John J., 571, 583, 588
 portrait of, 582
 Peru (pē-rōō'), 10, 12, 13
 Peruvians, 10
 "Pet Banks", 327
 Petersburg (pē'tērzbūrg), Virginia, 430, 431
 Petroleum, 386, 474-475
 Philadelphia (fil'ā-dēl'fī-ā), 35, 43, 65, 73, 79, 120, 130, 136, 140, 141, 142, 196, 200, 201, 207, 257, 286
 Philip II (fil'ip), 17
 Philip, King (Indian), 48
 Philippine Islands (fil'ī-pīn), 558-559, 560, 561-563
 Phillips (fil'ips), Wendell, 349-350
 portrait of, 350
 Pickett's Charge (pīk'ēt), 424
 Pierce (pērs), Franklin, 382
 portrait of, 382
 Pike (pīk), Zebulon N., 227-228
 Pilgrim Fathers, 24-25, 48
 Pinchot (pīn'shō), Gifford, 534
 Pinckney (pīnk'nī), Charles C., 211-212
 Pinckney, Thomas, 223
 Pinckneys, 165
 Pioneers, quality of, 297-298
 influence of frontier upon, 312-314
 on the prairies, 498
 Pitcairn (pīt'kārn), Major John, 128
 Pitt (pīt), William, 102, 109, 113
 Pittsburgh (pīts'būrg), 102, 177, 190, 222, 279, 280, 281, 311
 Pizarro (pī-zār'rō), Francisco, 10
 Plains of Abraham (ā'brā'hām), 103
 Plattsburg Bay (plāts'būrg), battle of, 246-247
 Plymouth (plīm'ūth), 25, 48, 69, 78
 Poe (pō), Edgar Allan, 332-333
 Pokanokets (pō'kā-nō'kēts), 48
 Poland (pō'lānd), 593

Polk, James K. (pōk), 361-362, 364-365
 Pontiac (pōn'tī-āk), 177, 180
 Pope (pōp), General John, 414-415, 417, 419
 Popular Sovereignty, 374, 375, 390-391
 Population, 257, 544
 Populist Party, 520
 Port Hudson (hūd'sūn), 421
 Porter (pōr'tēr), Captain David, 245
 Porter, Commodore William David, 420
 Porto Rico (pōr'tō rē'kō), 10, 557, 560-561
 Port Royal (roi'āl), 88, 98
 Portsmouth (pōrts'mūth), 28
 Portugal (pōr'tū-gāl), 6, 10, 11, 38, 574
 Portuguese (pōr'tū-gēz), 5-6
 Potato, 17
 Potomac (pō-tō'māk), 44, 78, 100, 164, 200
 Power, sources of, 474-476
 Presbyterians, 35, 64-65, 83, 108
 Prescott (prēs'kūt), Colonel William, 131
 President, the, 170-172
 election of, 171
 duties, 171-172
 Prince Henry the Navigator, 5-6
 Princeton (prīns'tūn), 82
 battle of, 141
 Printing, 14, 82-83, 387
 Privateers, in the Revolution, 147
 in the War of 1812, 245
 Progressive party, 526
 Progressives, 530
 Prohibition, 535-536
 Protective Tariff, 281-283
 Protestants, 17, 24, 95, 334
 Providence (prōv'ī-dēns), 28
 Prussia (prūsh'ā), 233-234, 251
 Prussians (prūsh'āns), 205, 234
 Public Land System, 185-187
 Pueblo (pwā'blō), Colorado, 491
 Pulaski (pū-lās'kī), Count Casimir, 145-146, 149
 Puritans, 24-25, 62, 78, 83, 108
 Putnam (pūt'nām), Israel, 129

Q

Quakers, 35-37, 39, 49, 62, 83, 85, 108, 136, 350
 Quebec (kwē-bēk'), 88, 91, 93, 98, 99, 184, 241
 siege of, 103
 attacked by Americans, 132-133
 Quebec Act, 121, 184
 Queen Anne's War, 95, 98
 Queenstown (kwēnz'toun), 241

R

Railroads, 286-289, 387
 influence of, 289, 387-388
 age of, 476-479
 first transcontinental, 477
 problem of the, 514-515
 regulation of, 530
 Raleigh, Sir Walter (rō'li), 16-17
 Randolph (rān'dōlf), Edmund, 196-197
 Ranger, the, 148
 Read (rēd), Lt. Commander Albert C., 597
 Read, Thomas Buchanan, 431
 Reciprocity, 514
 Reclamation Service, 500
 Reconstruction of the Southern States, 452-455

Red Cross Society, 437, 591
 Red River, 226
 Referendum, the, 528
 Republican party, 391, 396, 506
 beginning of, 394-395
 in the election of 1860, 402-403
 Republicans, early, 202-204, 213-215,
 217-219, 238, 249, 316
 Resolutions, of Virginia and Kentucky,
 214
 Revere (rē-vēr'), Paul, 128
 Revolution, American, causes of, 107-125
 true character of, 107-109, 137
 war of, 128-154
 British plan of attack in, 138
 British plan in 1777, 141
 fighting in the South, 149-152
 end of the war, 152-153
 men of the, 153-154
 influence on France, 205
 Revolution, French, 204-205
 Revolution, in England, 32, 56, 95, 107
 Rhine (rīn), 3, 63
 Rhode Island (rōd), 28, 43, 55, 56, 79, 83,
 85, 129, 157, 165, 169, 185
 Rhodes (rōdz), James Ford, 539
 Richmond (rīch'mūnd), 408, 412, 416, 430,
 431, 432
 Riley (rī'lī), James Whitecomb, 539
 Río Grande (rē'ō grān'dā), 228, 365, 366
 Rivers, influence of, 43
 Robertson (rōb'ert-sūn), James, 180, 189,
 193, 296, 488
 Rochebeau (rō'shān'bō'), J. B. D. de
 V., Count, 152
 Rocky Mountains, 93, 227-228, 230
 Roebuck (rō'būk), John, 278
 Roman Empire, 2-3
 Romans, 2, 3, 13
 Roosevelt (rō zē-vēlt), Theodore, 524-526,
 527, 530, 531, 533, 534, 557, 560, 563,
 566, 598
 portrait of, 523
 Rosecrans (rō'zē-krāz), General William
 S., 420, 426
 portrait of, 426
 Roumania (rōo-mā'nī-ā), 571, 576
 Rumsey (rūm'zī), James, 280
 Russia (rūsh'ā), 233-234, 251, 252, 468,
 563, 564, 573, 574, 575, 585
 Rutledge (rūt'lēj), John, 123, 165

S

Safety first, 533
 St. Clair (klār'), General Arthur, 189-190
 Saint-Gaudens (sānt gō'dēnz), Augustus,
 539
 St. Ignace (ēn'yās'), 91
 St. Lawrence, Gulf of (lō'rēns), 87, 99
 St. Lawrence River, 89, 93, 99, 104
 St. Leger (sānt-lēj'ēr), General, 142, 143
 St. Louis (lōō'ls), 227, 311
 St. Mary's (mā'rīz), 23
 St. Mihiel (sān'mē'yēl'), battle of, 587-588
 Sabbath keeping, 84
 Sacramento Valley (sāk'rā-mēn'tō), 371
 Salem (sā'lēm), 27, 68, 78
 Salvation Army, 591
 San Diego (sān dē-ā'gō), 363
 Salt Lake City, 334
 Samoan Islands (sā-mō'ān), 563
 Sampson (sāmp'sūn), Admiral, 559
 San Francisco (sān frān-sīs'kō), 2, 363, 371

Sanitary Commission, 437
 San Jacinto (sān jā-sīn'tō), battle of, 359
 San Juan Hill (hwān), 560
 San Martin (mār'tīn), 251
 Santa Anna (sān'tā ā'nā), Antonio Lopez
 de, 358
 Santiago (sān'tē-ā'gō), battles of, 559-560
 Santo Domingo (sān'tō dō-mīn'gō), 223-
 224, 557
 Saratoga (sār'd-tō'gā), battles at, 143
 Sargent (sār'jēnt), John S., 539
 Sault Ste. Marie (sōō' sānt mā'rī), 90
 Savannah (sā-vān'ā), Georgia (jōr'jī-ā),
 33, 149, 151, 153, 429
Savannah, the, 281
 Saybrook (sā'brōōk), 29
 "Scalawags", 457
 Scandinavians (skān'dī-nā'vī-ānz), 544,
 547
 Schoolbooks, of the colonists, 81
 Schoolhouses, in the colonies, 80
 Schools, in the colonies, 78-82
 on the frontier, 307-308
 Schuyler (skī'lēr), Philip, 153
 Schuylers, 63
 Schuylkill River (skōōl'kīl), 142
 Scotch (skōch), 34, 64, 65
 Scotch-Irish, 37, 64-65, 66, 79, 83, 108,
 193, 542
 Scotland (skōt'lānd), 35, 62, 65
 Scott (skōt), General Winfield, 366-367,
 381-382
 Secession, 403-404
 Second Day Adventists, 334
 Seminoles (sēm'ī-nōlz), 332
 Senate, 166, 169-170, 172, 173
 Senecas (sēn'ē-kāz), 46
 Separatists, 24-25
 Serapis (sē-rā'pīs), the, 148
 Serbia (sēr'bi-ā), 573, 576
 Servants, indentured, 51
 Sevier (sē-vēr'), John, 180, 182, 189
 Seward (sū'ērd), William H., 352, 378,
 380, 394, 402, 446, 467
 Sewing machine, 386-387
 Seymour (sē'mōr), Horatio, 464
 Shafter (shāf'tēr), General William R., 560
 Shannon (shān'ūn), 245
 Shaw (shō), Anna Howard, 528, 539
 Shawnees (shō-nēs), 46, 180
 Shays' Rebellion (shāy'z), 163
 Shenandoah (shēn'ān-dō'ā), 44
 Sheridan (shēr'ī-dān), General, Philip
 Henry, 430, 431, 467
 Sherman Act (shūr'mān), 516, 531
 Sherman, Roger, 165
 Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 519
 Sherman, General W. T., 369, 426, 427,
 428
 marching through Georgia, 428-429
 portrait of, 427
 Shiloh (shī'lō), battle of, 417-418
 Sickles (sīk'lz), General Daniel E., 423
 Silver, free coinage of, 517-520
 Sioux (sōō), 500-501
 Sitting Bull, 501
 Slater (slā'tēr), Samuel, 275
 Slave life, 340-346
 Slave owners, 340-341
 Slavery, 51, 337-352
 introduced in Virginia, 22
 causes differences in the Constitutional
 Convention, 166-167

early history of, 337-338
 life in the slaveholding states, 340-346
 in Congress, 350-351
 becomes the question of the hour, 351-352
 controversy over, 374-376
 the quarrel over renewed, 390-391
 the end of, 443-445
 Slaves, 13, 51, 340-344, 439-440
 Slave trade, 167, 338
 Slidell (slī-dēl'), John, 365, 410
 Smith (smith), Captain John, 20-21, 63
 Smith, Joseph, 334
 Socialists, 530
 Sons of Liberty, 113
 South, life in the, 259-260, 267
 solid, 460
 the growth of a new, 460-463
 South America (d-mēr'i-kā), 8-9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 234
 South Carolina (kā-rō-lī'nā), 33, 46, 51, 52, 63, 124, 149, 150, 188, 403, 458, 462, 466
 South Dakota (dā-kō'tā), 497, 502
 Spain (spān), 4, 10, 38, 87, 104, 149, 152, 199, 222, 252, 466
 rivalry with England, 15-18
 sells Florida to United States, 251
 at war with United States, 556-557
 Spaniards, 9, 557-560
 win an empire in the New World, 9-12
 control the Mississippi, 199
 Spanish Armada (ār-mā'dā), 17-18, 87
 results of its defeat, 18
 Spanish War, 557-560
 Speaker of the House, 170
 Specie circular, 328
 Specie payment, 442
 Spoils system, 321-323, 464, 526-527
 Spottsylvania Court House (spōt'sil-vā' nī-d), battle of, 430
 Stamp Act, 111-113
 resistance to, 113
 repeal of, 113
 Standard Oil Company, 509
 Stanton (stān'tūn), Edwin M., 446, 448, 457
 Stark (stärk), John, 129, 143, 154
 "Star-Spangled Banner", the, 247
 States, first governments in, 157-158
 selfishness of, 163
 ratify the Constitution, 167-169
 powers forbidden to, 171
 Steamboats, 279-281
 Steam engine, 275-277
 Steel, 473-474
 Stephens (stē'vēnz), Alexander H., 404
 Stephenson (stē'vēn-sūn), George, 287
 Steuben (stū'bēn), Frederick William, Baron von, 144
 Stevens (stē'vēnz), Thaddeus, 453
 portrait of, 453
 Stony Point, 145
 Stowe (stō), Harriet Beecher, 383
 Strikes, 511-512
 Stuart (stū'ärt), Gilbert, 269
 Stuyvesant (stī'vē-sānt), Peter, 31, 34
 Sugar Trust, 509
 Sullivan (sūl'i-vān), General John, 145, 153, 181
 Sumner (sūm'nēr), Charles, 393, 394, 453
 portrait of, 453
 Sunday schools, 267, 334

Superstition, 67-68
 Supreme Court, 172, 198
 Susser (sūs'eks), 578
 Sutter (sūt'er), Captain John A., 369
 Sweden (swē'dēn), 62
 Swedes, 31, 42, 63, 65-66, 542
 Swiss (swīs), 297
 Syrians (sīr'i-ānz), 546
 T
 Taft (tāft), William H., 525, 526, 527, 530, 531,
 portrait of, 525
 Talleyrand (tāl't-rānd), Prince Charles Maurice, 212, 213, 225
 Tariff, 198, 281-283, 323-324
 of 1789, 198
 of 1816, 283
 of 1824, 283
 of 1828, 283
 of 1832, 325
 compromise, 1833, 326
 differing opinions on, 512-513
 during the Civil War, 512
 Cleveland and the, 513-514
 McKinley Act, 514
 Wilson Act, 514
 Dingley Act, 521
 Payne-Aldrich Act, 521
 Underwood Act, 531
 Tarleton (tār'l-tūn), Colonel Sir Banastre, 151
 Taxation, without representation, 110-111
 second British attempt to tax, 113-117
 the tea tax, 119-120
 in Washington's administration, 198-199
 during the Civil War, 441, 443
 Taylor (tā'ler), General Zachary, 365-366, 375, 380
 portrait of, 376
 Tecumseh (tē-kūm'sē), 239, 243
 Telegraph, 289
 Tennessee (tēn'sē'), 177, 179-180, 188, 189, 190, 224, 296, 299, 308, 408, 462, 488
 Tennessee River, 182, 298-299
 Tenure of Office Act, 456
 Teutons (tū'tōns), 3-4
 Texas (tēk'sās), 93, 229, 251, 356-362, 368, 380, 403, 416, 461, 462, 474, 488, 494
 Thames (tēmz), battle of, 242
 Thomas (tōm'ās), General George H., 426, 427, 428
 portrait of, 426
 Ticonderoga (tī-kōn'dēr-ō'gd), 100, 103, 132, 142
 Tilden (tīl'dēn), Samuel J., 466
 Tippecanoe (tīp'ē-kā-nōō'), battle of, 239
 Tobacco, 17, 22, 50, 51
 Toleration, 25, 27-28, 270
 in Maryland, 24
 lack of in the colonies, 85
 in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, 85
 Tools, of the colonists, 50-51
 Toombs (tōōmz), Robert, 376
 Tories, see Loyalists
 Toussaint L'Ouverture (tōō'sān'lōō'vēr'-tūr'), 223-224
 Townshend Acts (toun'zēnd), 113-114
 Townshend, Charles, 114
 Township, in New England, 53
 in the West, 186-187, 307

Trade, colonial, 52
 down the Mississippi, 221-223
 suffers at the hands of England and France, 234-235
 in the early republic, 263-264
 Trafalgar (tráf'ál-gár'), 233
 Transportation, early, 264-266, 387-388
 early Western, 492
 Travel, in the colonies, 77-78
 in the early republic, 256, 264-266
 Travis (tráv'is), Colonel, 358
 Treaty,
 of Utrecht, 98-99
 of Paris, 1763, 104, 109
 of Alliance with France, 146
 of Paris, 1783, 152-153
 Jay's, 208
 with France (1800), 213
 Pinckney's, 222
 of Ghent, 248
 Webster-Ashburton, 356
 of peace with Mexico, 367
 of Washington, 468
 of peace with Spain, 560
 of peace in 1919, 592-593
 Trent Affair (trént), 410
 Trenton (trén'tún), 196
 Trenton, battle of, 141
 Trumbull (trüm'bül), John, 269
 Trusts, 509-511, 521, 525, 529-531
 Turkey (túr'ki), 573
 Turks (túrks), 5, 330, 588
 Turner (túr'nér), Nat., 347
 Turnpikes, 265, 283-286
 Tuskegee (tús-ké'gè), Alabama, 463, 549
 Tutuila (túú'túú-é'lá), 563
 Tweed (twéd), William M., "Boss", 465
 Tyler (ti'lér), John, 329, 355-356, 359, 362

U

Uncle Tom's Cabin, 383
 Underground Railroad, 375, 382-383
 Union, growth of, 121-124
 early attempts at, 122
 Union Pacific Railroad, 451
 United Garment Workers, 552
 United Mine Workers, 552
 United States, 1-2, 18, 54, 62, 87, 104, 109, 230, 244
 in the World War, 573-594
 Utah (ú'tó), 334, 368, 380, 502, 528
 Utrecht (ú'trékt), Treaty of, 98-99

V

Valley Forge, 142
 the camp at, 143-144
 Van Buren (vân bú'rén), Martin, 328-329, 361, 362, 375
 Van Rensselaers (vân rên'sê-lêrs), 63
 Vasco da Gama (dâ gã'mâ), 6
 Venezuela (vên'tê-zwê'lá), 556, 557
 Venice (vên'is), 5
 Vera Cruz (vâ'râ krôós'), 367, 570
 Verdun (vêr'dūh'), 575
 Vermont (vêr-mónt'), 188, 308
 Verrazano (vêr'râ-t-sâ'nô), 87
 Vespuclus, Americus, Vespucci (vês-pôô'-chô), Amerigo (â'mâ-rê'gô), 9
 Vice President, 170
 Vicksburg (víks'búrg), 310, 419, 420, 421
 Villa (vê'lâ), Francisco, 571
 Vincennes (vín'sénz), 177, 182, 183

Virginia (vêr-jín'j-d), 17, 37, 42, 43, 44, 49, 51, 52, 63, 72, 85, 100, 125, 129, 130, 134, 164, 166, 177, 181, 184-185, 188, 189, 190
 settled by the English, 20-23
 tobacco in, 22
 unfree labor in, 22
 growth of government in, 22-23
 Indian wars in, 48
 schools in, 79-80
 protests against Stamp Act, 110-111
 appoints committee of correspondence, 123
 revolutionary fighting in, 151-152
 ratifies the Constitution, 169
 resolutions, 214
 secedes, 408
 Virginians, 62, 83, 100
 Viviani (vê-vya-nê'), René, 580

W

Wales (wâlz), 62
 War of 1812, causes, 233-240
 campaigns, 240-245
 navy in, 242, 243-247
 results of, 248-249, 275, 281-282, 312
 "War Hawks", 237-240
 Washington (wêsh'ing-tún), Booker T., 548
 Washington, City of, 247
 Washington, George, 100, 101, 102, 105, 123, 130, 164, 165, 196, 262, 213, 219, 253, 555
 takes Boston, 132
 campaign in New York, 138-140
 campaign in New Jersey, 140-141
 in the campaign for Philadelphia, 141-142
 at Valley Forge, 142-143
 in the closing years of the Revolution, 145
 at Yorktown, 151-152
 character of, 153, 210
 in the Constitutional Convention, 166
 administration of, 196-210
 Farewell Address of, 209-210
 Washington, State of, 250, 363, 368, 498, 502
 Wasp, 244
 Watauga Settlement (wâ-tô'gâ), 180
 Watt (wôt), James 276-277
 Wayne (wân), General ("Mad") Anthony, 145, 153, 190
 portrait of, 189
 Webster's "Spelling Book", (wêb'stêr), 267
 Webster, Daniel, 316, 317, 321, 324-325, 356, 359, 378, 379-380, 404
 portrait of, 321
 Welsh (wêlsh), 65
 Wesley (wês'li), John, 83
 West, pioneers, of, 260
 rise of the Middle, 296-315
 reasons for rapid growth of, 296-297
 geography of settlement in, 298-301
 journey to, 301, 304
 pioneer life in, 304-308
 rising cities in, 309-312
 influence of, 312-314
 West, Benjamin, 289, 280
 West India Company (ín'dî-d), 30, 31
 West Indies (ín'dîz), 13, 15, 52, 53, 58, 118, 206, 234
 West Point, 145

West Virginia (vē-jīn'ī-d), 408, 445
 "Western Reserve", 301
 Western Union Telegraph Company, 508
 Westinghouse (vēst'ing-hous), George, 479
 Wethersfield (wēth'ēr-z-fēld), 29
 Wheeling (hwēl'ing), 190
 Whigs, 318, 329-330, 355-356, 361-362, 375, 381, 391, 394
 Whiskey Insurrection, 199
 Whiskey Trust, 509
 White (hwīt), Henry, 592
 White Plains, 138
 Whitman (hwīt'mān), Dr. Marcus, 360-361
 Whitman, Walt, 440, 448, 539
 Whitney (hwīt'nī), Eli, 277-278
 Whittier (hwīt'ī-ēr), John Greenleaf, 74-75, 332, 349, 379, 383, 388, 401, 440
 Wilderness, battle of, 430
 Wilkes (wīlks), Captain Charles, 410
 Willard (wīl'ārd), Frances E., 535, 537
 William and Mary College (wīl'yūm), 82
 William III, 56
 Williams (wīl'yūmz), Roger, 27-28, 63
 Wilmington (wīl'mīng-tūn), 151
 Wilmot (wīl'mōt), David, 369
 Wilmot Proviso, 369, 374
 Wilson (wīl'sūn), James, 165
 Wilson, William L., 514
 Wilson, Woodrow, 526, 530, 531, 570, 571, 576, 578, 579-580, 590, 592-593, 596
 portrait of, 526
 Windsor (wīn'zēr), 29
 Winthrop (wīn'thrūp), John, 26, 29, 63

Wisconsin (wīs-kōn'sīn), 184, 187, 301, 331, 362, 384
 Wisconsin River, 90
 Witchcraft, 67-68
 Wolfe (wōōlf), General James, 102, 103, 109
 portrait of, 102
 Woman suffrage, 528-529
 Wood (wōōd), General Leonard, 561
 portrait of, 561
 World's Fairs, 481-482
 World War, 573-599
 Wright Brothers (rīt), 539
 Wyoming (wī-ō'mīng), 502, 528
 Wyoming Valley, 181
 Writs of Assistance, 110, 114

X

X. Y. Z. Affair, 212-213

Y

Yale College (yāl), 82
 York (yōrk), Pennsylvania, 422
 Yorktown (yōrk'toun), surrender at, 151-152
 Yosemite Valley (yō-sēm'ī-tē), 503
 Young (yūng), Brigham, 334, 502
 Young Men's Christian Association, 437, 591

Z

Zanesville (zānz'vīl), 310

